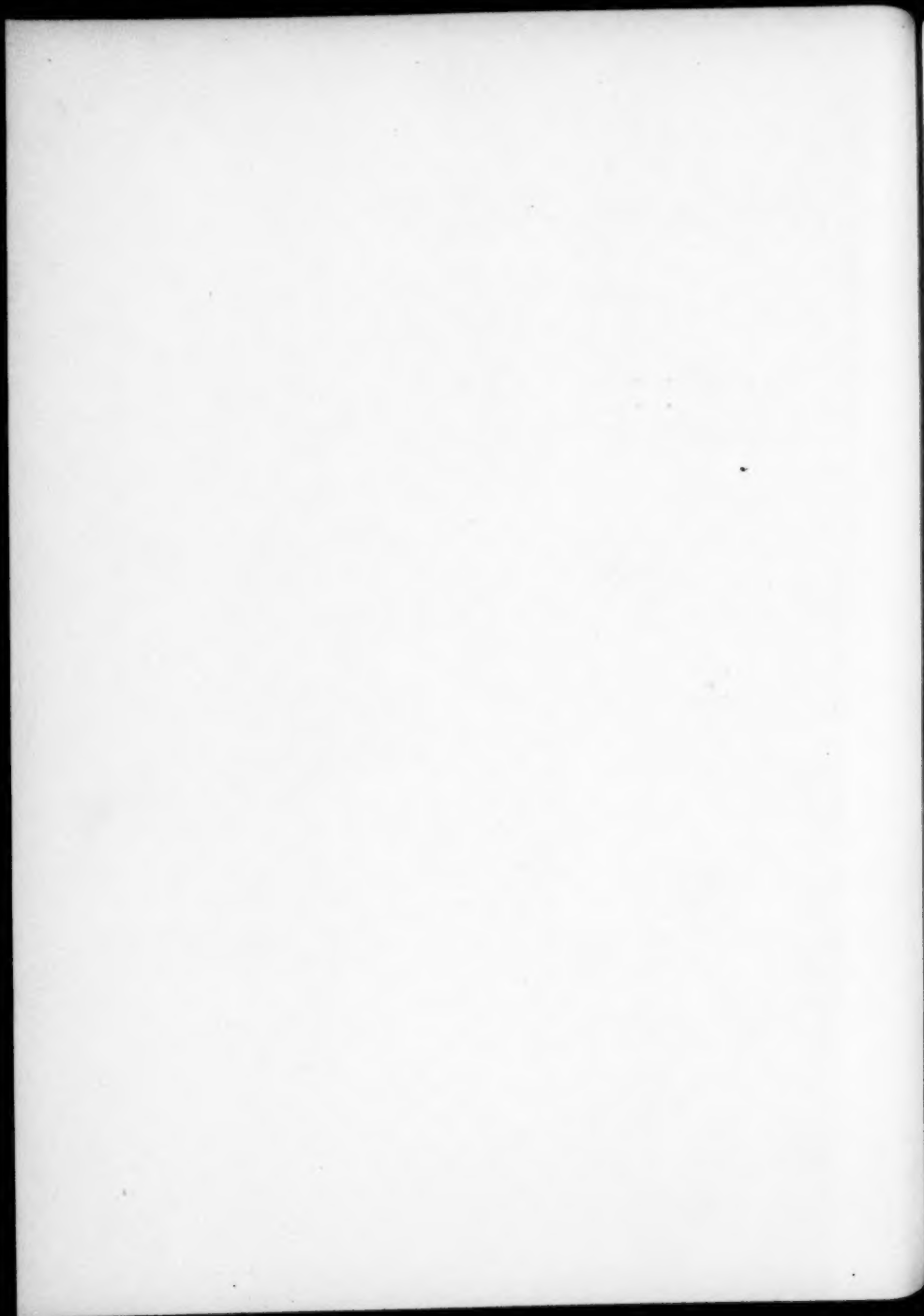*GROUP WORK AND*
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
1955

GROUP WORK AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 1955

PAPERS PRESENTED AT
THE 82D ANNUAL FORUM OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Foreword

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK is again sponsoring a volume of papers presented at its Annual Forum which are considered to be of special interest to persons engaged in social group work and community organization practice.

For this volume all manuscripts submitted in 1955 in the areas of social group work and community organization were considered, including papers presented at meetings sponsored by the Associate Groups. Suggestions for the papers to be included in this volume were made by the Conference Editorial Committee. Arthur Fink, Dean of the School of Social Work at the University of North Carolina, was selected as editor and made the final choice. An unusually large number of excellent papers was submitted. Since space was limited, however, many worthy of publication had to be omitted. The Conference hopes that some of them will be printed in journals published by other organizations in the field.

The papers were selected on the basis of timeliness and with the hope that the material would be of concrete value to practitioners, supervisors, and volunteers utilizing social group work and community organization methods and techniques. Since the Conference is an open forum, inclusion of a paper does not imply endorsement by the organization, nor does omission of any paper imply the opposite. Unfortunately, some excellent presentations at the San Francisco Annual Forum were never submitted in manuscript form and therefore were not available for consideration.

Two other volumes will be published in 1955 in addition to the *Social Welfare Forum*, the official Conference Proceedings. The first will be *Casework Papers, 1955,* published by the Family Service Association of America, and the second, *Minority Groups: Segregation and Integration,* published by Columbia University Press.

The Conference wishes to express its appreciation to Mr. Fink

and to Mrs. Dorothy M. Swart, of Columbia University Press, as
well as to the authors who submitted manuscripts for consideration.

JOE R. HOFFER

*Executive Secretary, National
Conference of Social Work*

July 28, 1955
Columbus, Ohio

Introduction

THE FOLLOWING ELEVEN PAPERS were selected from a score or more presented in the areas of community welfare planning and social group work. Despite the absence of intent on any one person's part there is a pronounced difference in the two areas as reflected in these papers. Those centering on community welfare planning emphasize the place of the citizen in the developments that take place within the community; whereas in the papers on social group work the emphasis seems to fall upon techniques and tools. It was not until the final selection was made on the basis of excellence of contribution that these contrasting emphases became apparent.

The papers on community welfare planning are properly headed by Violet Sieder's comprehensive statement bearing on recent developments within communities, especially with respect to citizen participation. This is a fitting prelude to the paper by Frances Goodall, who, although a professionally trained person and an agency executive, not only can see the place for the professional person in the community welfare planning process but can stress the indispensability of the citizen in the same process. The crowning instance of the St. Louis study delineated by Mrs. Goodall is to be found in the extraordinary analysis by Mrs. Irving Edison of the effectiveness of active lay participation. Other communities undertaking a study of their problems would do well to profit by the experience of this one community that brought in a skilled professional service—on an intermittent basis—then utilized the resident and continuing professional personnel, and based all of this on a sound use of citizens on study committees and on agency boards. These two papers are complementary and a testament of effective community effort.

The next two papers, without design of arrangement, center on housing. In both instances citizens and professional workers join

in demonstrating, according to Julia Abrahamson in Chicago and Sydney B. Markey in Philadelphia, that decayed and decaying areas of large cities demand the ceaseless labors of professional worker and active citizen.

The last presentation in the community welfare planning section illustrates that the process is just as applicable in nonurban areas. What is just as surely emphasized is the essential participation of the citizen. In the Wyckoff account the community is a valley in California, the persons concerned are workers following the crops—but the process calls for the same combination of professional worker and citizen as in the cities previously noted: St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia.

By contrast, the papers on social group work are concerned more with critical evaluation of theory and with emphasis on tools and techniques. As in several of the presentations in the community welfare planning section there is an emphasis on working within restricted areas, i.e., neighborhoods, or with specific problems, i.e., delinquency (see the papers by Florence Ray and Evelio Grillo). Howard G. Gibbs's contribution has the merit of relating social group work skills to camping in a manner that is both convincing and refreshing.

Irving Miller performs a useful service in applying with hard logic some of his critical faculty upon both theory and practice. While short on conclusions—and rightly so—his analysis commands respect, if perhaps not always agreement.

Nathan Cohen works on a large canvas. If his medium had been the brush rather than the pen, form and color rather than sound, his would have been a presentation over a full wall and his theme unmistakable. There is much to study and restudy in what he presents. It is an apt conclusion to a series of papers that will bear usefulness for many years beyond the one in which they were prepared and delivered.

ARTHUR E. FINK

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GROUP WORK AND
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
1955

Community Organization Developments in Our Cities and Metropolitan Areas

by *VIOLET M. SIEDER*

FOR SOME YEARS NOW, historians and social work prophets have predicted and warned that the future of the world depends in large part on our ability to shorten the lag between the development of our social relationships and institutions and our industrial and scientific advances. We are challenged not only to make better use of present knowledge and experience in meeting the needs of people but also to develop new approaches to problems growing out of changing economic and social patterns.

All of social work has a tremendous stake in this process, but the field of community organization bears a special responsibility for assuming a leadership role. From the vantage point of our welfare planning organizations we are in a peculiar position to gain a perspective of the community—its needs, its services, its resources, its geographical pattern, its special interests and biases, and its social institutions. We see these not just as separate sociological factors but in terms of their interrelationships as well. There must also be an awareness of shifting patterns and needs and what these mean when translated into services.

The responsibility of community organization, then, goes far beyond a static concept of adjusting and relating existing services and resources to each other. Here is implied a dynamic concept of responsibility for effecting changes in agency programs, for creating new services to meet changing community needs, and for developing new resources for manpower and financial support.

As a backdrop to a review of some of the current trends in community organization, let us take a brief look at some of the sociological and economic factors affecting it.

A well-publicized phenomenon is the shifting distribution of age groups in our expanding population, with large increases noted among the very young and those over sixty-five. Along with this development is an increase in the size of families. The changing character of the population calls for extension, revision, or redistribution of such services as education, recreation, health, welfare, and housing.

A second factor is the mobility of the population. We are witnessing major shifts of middle-income families from big cities to suburbs; or from rural areas and crowded cities to new industrial centers, such as defense-created communities. Those who move out from the big cities tend to be replaced with a lower economic group. The numbers occupying the same housing facilities and geographical areas are thus multiplied, and the resultant overcrowding is the source of slums and blight. The tremendous increase in the nonwhite population in our cities is a major challenge to established patterns of segregation and welfare planning.

Growing out of the concentration of population in our urban areas is social disintegration. Here are the pressures of too many people in too little space with neighbor not knowing neighbor, of political decisions by remote control, of affronts to personal dignity, of social agencies and institutions run for the citizen's benefit but giving him little opportunity to shape their services. Here, indeed, is the soil for growing frustration and futility which often are given expression in acts of hostility or passive withdrawal from all sense of responsibility. This is, indeed, a far cry from the ideal of a democratic way of life.

Feelings of not belonging, not counting—of personal inadequacy—coupled with a situation in which there is no effective way for the individual to express a sense of responsibility to the community are directly related to mental health. Family tensions, behavior problems, delinquency, desertion, divorce, crime, and mental illness are not surprising in this atmosphere. It follows that community organizers have a tremendous challenge to find effective ways of helping people to experience satisfying relationships with each other as a part of an integrated community.

Closely related to the need for citizen participation is the advent

of automation. With automation we are promised the blessings of an increased productive capacity, but we also face problems of assimilation of workers displaced by machines. To the extent that man's ability to produce more in less time results in greater leisure and higher standards of living, automation does indeed mean progress. Economists assure us that this turn of events is distinctly within the realm of possibility, provided we engage now in the necessary economic and social planning. The prospect of greatly increased free time for thousands of workers in every community means exciting opportunities for personal satisfactions from citizen participation in many types of civic and social welfare endeavors, for instructive use of leisure time through adult education, recreation, and family life. Here is a challenge to the social planner.

Also of note are the tremendous strides made in city planning for the physical improvement of our cities. Thruways, municipal centers, parks and playgrounds, cultural and civic centers, and housing projects are recognized as assets. But construction of these features inevitably displaces people who frequently suffer financial and personal hardship as a result. Although slums are an acknowledged menace, the problems of relocation and readjustment necessitated by their elimination are sometimes minimized or overlooked. Other difficulties frequently follow the advent of new housing: the "ghettoizing" of people by income levels; the lack of acceptance and assimilation of low-income housing project residents by their new neighbors; the concentration of people with similar problems; and other considerations all too familiar.

Finally, an important factor in community planning is the problem of financing the services. A roadblock familiar to all community organizers is the idea that there is some kind of "ceiling" to voluntary giving in any community; and that tax support has limits too. Economists who foretell future prosperity *if* we spend wisely now for services and capital improvements needed by a productive society are promptly labeled socialists or Communists or worse. Thus, social welfare planning frequently takes on the role of cutting the welfare dollar pie into thin, if equitable slices. The result is too often the malnourishment of society.

Demanding solution of the problems of mental health, slums, and delinquency, coupled with a tightening of community purse strings, inevitably leads only to new problems.

Social planners, then, have a real stake in fund-raising, whether it is accomplished through voluntary giving or by taxation. This calls for a fresh look at the relationship of public and voluntary support with special emphasis on the financing of planning organizations. It also implies a watchful eye on the new developments to expand federated giving. The advantages of federated financing through community chests and united funds have been well demonstrated; the danger that budgets will be controlled and a *status quo* maintained in welfare is also inherent, but not inevitable. Needed in the planning process is an awakened, informed, and actively participating community.

In light of these changing social and economic conditions, what are some guide lines for community organization in the future? This question will be viewed in terms of our philosophy and objectives, program, staff service, structure, and the relationship of welfare planning to other types of planning.

Philosophy and objectives. A review of our stated philosophy and objectives proves them to be sound and, to the extent they are practiced, solid. The problem is that we solemnly state our principles but fail to believe in them enough to put them to work. For example, we state: that we believe in the dignity of the individual and in his right to meet his own needs to the extent of his ability; that the need for planning stems from the needs and desires of all the people, and all interests and elements in the population have a right and responsibility to participate in it; that services must change with changing needs; that planning must start where people in the community are and not be premised solely on the accepted goals of a few leaders; and that people must be enabled to work together to determine needs and to develop the social welfare resources to meet these needs.

These principles are stated in every text on community organization and are well spelled out in a policy statement issued by Community Chest and Councils, "Community Planning for Social Welfare." Increasingly, communities are recognizing that imple-

mentation of the principles depends on a fresh look at program, staff service, and structure.

Program. The annual reports of community councils attest to a broadened concept of the legitimate concerns of welfare planning. Less and less do we hear arguments about areas of professional competence and more and more on the interdependence of fields of specialization. If we are to meet such social problems as delinquency, mental health, divorce, and intergroup tensions it follows that we must be concerned with housing, slum clearance, education, and factors affecting the community climate. We cannot box off health, welfare, and recreation as the province of social work planning. For one thing, many civic, religious, social, educational, and other groups have an expressed and active interest in this area, too.

Thus we see planning councils, especially those related to geographical areas, broadening the base of planning to include all aspects of social problems. Not to do so would be to invite fragmentation of planning according to such areas of interest as children, aged, health, housing, education, delinquency. That national efforts have been or are being currently launched to promote separate neighborhood or community councils in each of these areas indicates that this danger is not an idle speculation.

Staff service. The principle that program must grow out of recognized needs of people does not mean that community organizers have no responsibility to help communities identify these needs. This brings us to the importance of community organization staff service.

In the light of the social and economic developments noted earlier, it seems clear that most communities (and communities are people), especially in our large urban and metropolitan areas, cannot resolve their problems alone. There is need for a skillful enabler or catalyst. Such a person must have knowledge of social goals, since community organization process is not an end in itself but a means to an end. He must understand interpersonal and intergroup relations if he is to resolve tension or conflict situations in favor of positive program. Also needed is skill in helping people get necessary facts through simple devices as well as through action

research. Important too is a knowledge of available resources and how to use them.

In short, effective community organization involves much more than coordinating and relating existing services and resources to each other. Nor can it be left to spontaneous development of citizen interest and the much heralded "indigenous leader." The answer lies in a direct service approach to community organization, one in which the community organizer offers a specific service to a community by helping it to become aware of, identify, and solve its own problems.

The trends in this direction may be seen in the growing number of cities throughout the country in which the community welfare council or some public agency is sponsoring a program of staff consultation community organization service to local districts or geographical areas. The patterns vary, but the philosophy and objectives are the same. In recognition of this development, the board of Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., approved a "Policy Statement on the Relationship between Central Planning and District Community Planning for Health and Welfare" at its meeting in December, 1954. This reads, in part:

Therefore it is appropriate and desirable for Community Welfare Councils to provide community organization staff consultation service, to assist organizations and individuals to improve social conditions in the districts or neighborhoods in which they live or work; to relate local planning efforts through appropriate channels and resources to community-wide planning; to assist city-wide agencies and organizations in promoting their programs locally; to keep community-wide planning sensitive to local needs; and to stimulate maximum use and support of community services and resources to meet and prevent health and welfare problems.

This development in community organization may indeed be likened to a similar development, that of "aggressive" casework. In community organization it presupposes a responsibility to prevent disintegration of communities by moving staff into problem areas to develop group feeling, identify leadership, and encourage social action. The Hough area in Cleveland, which turned an incipient slum area into a self-respecting and productive com-

munity, is a case in point. Prevention of racial tensions in Pittsburgh and in Dayton, Ohio, might equally well be cited.

Structure. The geographical approach to community planning is dependent not only on a skillful staff service but also on the availability of community-wide resources to assist local citizens as they recognize the need for them and can use them. This points to a need for planning at a number of levels: neighborhood, city, metropolitan area, county, state, national, and international. There is real value in maintaining autonomous planning organizations at each of these levels. However, to achieve effectiveness there is need for clear and agreed-upon channels of communication and cooperation among them, since they are interdependent.

It seems clear that there will be a continuing need for a community-wide approach to social welfare planning to assure balance in program development as between fields of service and geographical areas as well as to promote good quality of service. But the provision of services gives no assurance of their use by those who most need them. A two-way approach to planning is clearly indicated, namely, on a city-wide and a geographical area basis. The district council, representing a cross section of organizations and individuals on a nonsectarian, nonpartisan, and noncommercial basis, operates as a link between the neighborhood and the larger communities.

Frequently, several district councils struggling with a similar problem may take conflicting or competing action which may defeat progress for all concerned. An answer to this situation has been found in a number of cities through an association of community councils. Representatives of district councils come together to exchange information, to study common problems, and to develop a concerted plan of attack. The association also serves as a channel to other central planning bodies, such as the welfare council, the city planning commission, the housing authority, or the human relations commission, with each of which areas it has real concern.

Thus the district council often identifies needs, the satisfaction of which requires top-level experts and resources in addition to the efforts of local citizens and citizen organizations. For such

problems there is a continuing need for established channels of communication to facilitate ready response. On the other hand, city-wide planning bodies frequently are helpless to carry out their recommendations unless they have the wide understanding, support, and backing of citizen groups and leaders. These are complementary and supplementary approaches to planning.

There are a number of structural patterns that may be used to achieve this purpose. In Chicago each area council is responsible for employing its own staff. There is also consultant service available to the welfare council, whose staff also carries responsibility for working with the Association of Community Councils. In Philadelphia, the staff is attached to the central welfare council but assigned to area offices (the city is divided into five large areas). The members of this staff serve as consultants on community organization to local groups or neighborhood councils. There is a district planning committee in each area to work with the staff. A third and more prevalent pattern is typified by Cleveland, where the staff is employed by the central welfare council but assigned to work with district or area councils. Criteria are established to determine the eligibility of local councils that request this staff service. The welfare council also staffs the Association of Community Councils. In some places, as in Sacramento, California, the council staff is subsidized with public funds, while in others, as in Dayton, it is financed by foundation and Junior League support on a demonstration basis. In Kansas City, Los Angeles, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., the councils are under public auspices and are staffed from a public department. There seems to be less coordination of planning between local councils and the central welfare planning council when staff service is offered under the auspices of a public agency.

The neighborhood or geographical approach to planning is not a new idea. For over thirty years various experiments and approaches have been carried on with local community councils. But there are new factors:

1. There is recognition that community organization consultant staff service is necessary to help communities resolve their problems.

2. Community welfare councils are recognizing their responsibility to offer staff consultation service to local councils.

3. The neighborhood councils themselves are seeing a need to relate to each other through associations or federations on a metropolitan basis to achieve their mutual goals.

4. Both local community councils and city-wide planning organizations are increasingly aware of the need to work together on a formalized basis through well-established channels of communication.

5. The national climate is ripe for a timely development of truly effective citizen participation.

6. Central planning councils are broadening the base of participation to include civic organizations and citizen groups and are operating on a problem-centered rather than an agency-centered approach, which helps to facilitate communication with district or citizen councils.

In our preoccupation with an individual or family approach to social problems we have tended to overlook the relationship of individuals to their community as a major factor in social welfare. Now is the time to translate our philosophy and goals into action in terms of integrated communities. This calls for leadership nationally and in every local community. Let us really create opportunities for individual citizens and their membership groups to exercise their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. As Dr. De Jong of the Netherlands said at the International Conference of Social Work in Toronto in 1954, "The more interdependent a society, the more organized it must be to meet its needs."

The Study with "Built-in Implementation"

I. THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

by FRANCES GOODALL

In ORDER TO MAKE A POINT about how a community study fits into a long-range community organization process, we refer to the St. Louis study of sixteen children's institutions as the study with the "built-in implementation." Implementation is what should take place after a community problem has been analyzed and changes are indicated. Literally, it involves choosing and providing the implements, putting them into competent hands, and getting them to work. While we do not claim that there was a secret ingredient which gave this study a unique and magic power, we have seen the study from the outset as having objectives pitched far into the future of community services in St. Louis, and therefore requiring a strong psychological carry-over for the future.

This account of the "built-in implementation," presented from the viewpoint of the professional community organization worker whose business is to work with agencies and others toward better welfare services for people, has to do with the total community organization process as conceived, experienced, and then analyzed in retrospect by the staff worker.

The study was made by the Social Planning Council of St. Louis and St. Louis County with technical consultation from the Child Welfare League of America, and took about three years. It included an analysis of sixteen of the nineteen voluntary Protestant denominational, Jewish, and nonsectarian institutions in the com-

munity. There are also nine Catholic institutions which were involved in a separate study under the Archdiocese.

The study went deeply into the programs of the sixteen institutions, individually and collectively, to answer these questions:

1. What is the nature and quality of services being provided by the institutions?

2. What does the community need by way of institutional care for children?

3. What is the appropriate role for children's institutions in the community, and what standards should they meet?

4. How should institutional services be reorganized in order to meet the community's present needs?

The fact-finding included the use of schedules developed and analyzed by our Research Bureau for descriptive and statistical information on the operation of the institutions and the children served. It included, also, reading sample records on children in each institution. In addition, an evaluation of each institution was made by a consultant on the staff of the Child Welfare League of America who spent two days in each one. The study ended with recommendations for each of the institutions, and with a recommended community pattern of child welfare services in which a reorganized pattern of institutional services had its place.

How does it come about that frequently we start these agency and community studies and then bury them? For example, the kind of study that antagonizes an agency, causing it to organize an effective defense. The kind that pulls out the facts for solving some of the basic community problems, but few people know about it, and fewer care. The kind that calls for wide community planning in a major field and a range of new and extended services but for which the resources are never produced. The kind that appears to have been done only for the exercise. And also the not so competent studies in which there is either no committee process or an inadequate one, or where the staff work is inadequate for the problem at hand, and where the proposed solutions serve only to confuse rather than to solve.

Why have they not served a useful purpose beyond contributing to bibliography? Maybe the motivation was weak or not in the

hearts of the right people; or the questions asked were not clear or really significant, or they were just the questions of a professional minority; or they were not so technically sound as was possible at that time; or the method of making the study was not planned in relation to the purpose and the future.

With such questioning of past experience, we have wanted to learn how to make the study process in community planning more fruitful and to see the study and planning processes, from the long view, as Stages One and Two in a reorganization of community services. It therefore seemed clear that Stage One should be planned so as to lead naturally into Stage Two.

Stage One had two objectives: to gather and analyze the important information as the basis for recommendations which would be useful to the institutions and the community; and to end the study with the right community people ready to use the recommendations, and with our Social Planning Council, as the community planning agency, ready and with the resources to help the institutions and the community to use them. With this double objective, the process of the study was to be as significant as the findings. The appropriate process seemed to be for certain people to be involved and to live through an experience that would help make them ready to take up their future responsibilities in a community reorganization of institutional services.

The constellation of people involved in this community organization process included the lay leadership in the Social Planning Council, where we are very fortunate in the number of knowledgeable lay citizens who are actively engaged in social planning. Chief among these was the chairman of the Study Committee. There were also a number of professional workers in agencies and institutions with a continuing significant role in council work; the staff and boards of directors of institutions; and personnel in referring agencies. There was our own staff team—the Research Bureau director, in charge of the fact-finding; the Family, Old Age, and Children's Division staff (I was responsible for organization and coordination); the specially employed staff of case readers; and the technical consultant, Helen Hagan, from the Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

There came a day in the fall of 1951 when the lay chairman of our Division, Mrs. Irving Edison, and I said to each other that the question of starting a study might now be raised. At this point, we might say, the actual community organization process was begun, although it was another year before the study was started. During the year of exploration and preparation, this is what was done:

1. A group of key laymen and professional persons were consulted at a special luncheon meeting about study in the child welfare field. Did it seem indicated? What should be the scope? The unanimous opinion was that a study of the children's institution field was the place to start, and that this was urgently needed.

2. The Research and Division staff of the Council drafted questions to be answered in a study.

3. The superintendents of institutions who are associated in a regular conference group talked over the prospect of a study at several meetings and worked over and filled in the tentative outline of questions.

4. Laymen and professionals in the Council talked informally with individual board members and superintendents of institutions.

5. The proposal for a study was presented at a dinner meeting planned for board members and superintendents of the institutions. A special speaker, a member of the Child Welfare League staff, talked of the "renaissance in the children's institution field" and discussed how other institutions have used studies. The outcome of this meeting was action on the part of the group: the Social Planning Council should plan a study, and should extend to the institutions an invitation to participate through vote of their boards of directors. Those institutions which were not in the Community Chest were to be asked to contribute financially to the project.

6. Finally, a pamphlet—addressed to boards of directors—presenting the case for the study and outlining what would be involved, was enclosed with letters of invitation to participate in the study. This letter went to nineteen institutions. Sixteen accepted, following action by their boards, and all the non-Chest agencies voted to contribute to the cost of the study.

A basis of some understanding and of voluntary participation was now established. A study was to be made, and more specific plans could be worked out. At the staff and technical level the help of the Child Welfare League had to be engaged and a research plan drawn. We were perhaps making a somewhat unusual request of the League—that it help us make a study, not come into St. Louis to make a study. We wanted the League's knowledge and the benefit of its exceptionally well-equipped personnel, but we wanted to experience the study fully, ourselves. How sound this may or may not have been can be a matter of later conjecture, but the League agreed to work with us on that basis and made Helen Hagan available for that purpose.

In the meantime, the Study Committee was chosen, consisting of the president of each of the institutions, several lay and professional people from related agencies and schools of social work, and several members at large. From this point on the committee was to pilot the study. The committee was so large (about thirty-five people) it could only steer a general course but could not get into details, particularly with reference to individual institutions. So there was needed an Executive Committee whose lay members would have no stake in any one institution and would be able to work with the technical people as objectively as possible on the detailed findings and recommendations.

Tied in with the work of the Study Committee and of the Council staff was the extremely important service of the consultant from the Child Welfare League. Miss Hagan made seven field trips to St. Louis in a year and a half. Her major job was to consider the institutions as none of us in St. Louis could do—with the eyes and ears and understanding of the specialist. Miss Hagan made a full report to the local study staff on what she found. She shared her special knowledge, her insights, with our staff. She worked with the Research Bureau on the development of schedules—particularly those that called for a great deal of information on the children under care which we hoped might give us a diagnostic picture of the reasons why children were in institutions—and the problems they presented. She worked with the case readers in preparation for their job. She reviewed statistical findings, case

reading, collated this with her own observations, identified the problems in each of the institutions, drafted the recommendations for consideration by the Executive Committee. In addition, she met with the Study Committee each time she was in St. Louis, bringing them a cumulative picture of what she was seeing in St. Louis institutions, explaining to them what better institutions are like, what it means to children to be in institutions, which children should be in institutions, and what the goals of institutional care should be.

When the study was about half way through we had an institution for board members of the institutions on the responsibilities of the board member, his questions about program and so on, with Miss Hagan as speaker. At that stage of learning and interest, almost the entire time was spent on the place of casework service in the institution. Miss Hagan also spoke at two public meetings planned as part of the study process: a luncheon on the subject of residential treatment for emotionally disturbed children; and a dinner for board and staff members toward the close of the study. Here she told what she had seen: the good group living in some institutions; the earnest and genuine concern of board and staff members; the modern cottages which some institutions have built; and also the "institutional brown," the sterility, the regimentation, in some others. She gave, too, a "child's-eye-view" of how it feels to a child to be separated from his parents and to have an institution as a substitute for his own home. This last meeting deepened understanding of the changes that needed to be made.

The lay chairman of the study performed a leadership role appropriate to a process of encouraging a whole field of welfare service to move from here to there. Her interest in the field was based on the experience of having been president of an institution, and her interest in child welfare stemmed from a deep maternal feeling as well as from a well-schooled knowledge of children. Everyone in the study knew that she cared about children and knew a great deal about children's institutions. It was her suggestion that we prepare, early in the study, a good bibliography and make it available to everyone on the committee. Soon we were running something of a library service for committee and board

members. The chairman herself went deeper into her reading and soon outstripped the staff in keeping up with new material. Her knowledge was particularly influential in her contacts with the committee and in her interpretation to board members, individually and in groups.

In her relationship with a combination staff team, the chairman was usually out ahead on timing, on seeing that a direct and courageous step could be taken at a certain point. Appreciative always of professional judgment, she had her intuitions and her convictions with regard to strategy which were profitable.

This cannot be a complete story of a community organization process without some account of what the community organization worker did. To summarize briefly, her job was to serve the chairman and the committee with general coordination, scheduling, and administrative detail work. There were also direct contacts with institutional people as part of the ongoing consultative role of a Council staff person. In connection with our meetings with boards, there were conferences with some of the superintendents, all of whom were invited to share in advance the questions committee members would be bringing to the board meetings. And there were several conferences with board members who brought in information or questions about special problems or who, following our meetings with them, sometimes wanted to start at once to put some recommendations into effect. At the end of the study there was the job of compiling and editing the reports.

What kind of written reports would be best for a study like this? We considered this a long time, and decided that there should be a full confidential report for each of the institutions, and an overall report on the study. What should go into them? We had collected several kinds of material, statistical, descriptive, and evaluative. Should this all be pulled together in one composite report for each institution? Who should do it—consultant, local staff? We decided to present the separate findings from these various perspectives, and let each speak for itself. Therefore, each report describes the institution as seen through the questionnaires

it filled out, itself; as seen by the case readers; as seen by referring agencies; and as seen by the consultant.

The over-all report draws together the same kind of material on all the institutions and points out the implications and the recommendations for the community. It also does something which it seemed would be valuable for community planning: it lays out a needed pattern of community services to meet all the welfare needs of children in St. Louis and St. Louis County, including a pattern of institutional care for the community. Into this pattern, which Miss Hagan helped us set down far in advance as the study was started, we finally wove our institutions as we came to know them by the end of the study. In terms of their resources, their interests, their potentiality for change, it was possible to assign an appropriate and a probably achievable function for each of fifteen institutions. With the sixteenth, there was not sufficient access to the board and staff for us to be able to see what hope there might be for improving a very poor program, so the future course of this institution could not be suggested.

The reports went out to the institutions, and the over-all report was presented and discussed in the Council, in the Chest, in the superintendents' group, in several other groups. The key recommendation for the Social Planning Council was that the Council should establish a committee on planning for children's institutions to work in cooperation with the institutions toward carrying out recommendations of this study, serve to coordinate progress and resources, and provide consultation to the institutions. The Council also should provide adequate additional staff service so that implementation of this study could move forward rapidly and effectively. Already a request had been made to the Community Chest for funds for the new staff position of institutional consultant. Although it was presented in an unusually tight year when not even salary increases were allocated to Chest agencies, this special request was granted. A month after the reports were distributed, a new Planning Committee on Children's Institutions had been organized, and this group is now bringing into being a larger advisory committee which will have representation from all the

institutions in the community, public and private, as well as from those in the study.

Obviously, the study was not the one sure method to secure information and bring about improvement but rather a way to try in this field of community organization where the rules so far are determined only by what we know of what seems to work in community planning and human relations. We know at least that in the social welfare field, community planning is not a matter of technical blueprinting and ordering the steps. It is at the stage of dealing politically (using the word in its benign sense) with many historical, special interest, and vested influences. Its job is one of finding what at any one point can be worked with, and one of discovering and encouraging people with the capacity, the setting, and the susceptibility to take up a cause and carry it whatever distance seems possible at the time.

Therefore, the preparation for the study had to take into account where we were and where the institutions were with regard to community planning. The children's institutional field had a strong sense of investment. It had its roots in early community and church history. It was deeply enmeshed in feelings about children, warm and concerned feelings for other people's children, and also in some of the projections of moral responsibility which may accompany trying to make up for other parents' deficiencies. There were the justifiable feelings of pride and accomplishment that large buildings had been built and maintained and many children kept under care—more than half of the institutions having achieved all this without participation in the Community Chest. The institutions were a heterogeneous group. They had maintained an acquaintance with each other and with the Social Planning Council through the Conference of Superintendents, but this acquaintance probably had no more than a minor effect toward any basic reorientation to the changing times. So when the planning agency reached out to them for the purpose of stimulating change it was a long reach over a wide distance.

The Council did reach out, and the institutions responded, possibly, for two reasons: they were so earnest about wanting to do a good job that they were willing to join a community move-

ment that promised to offer them some help; and they appeared to trust the people who offered the study and the process which they were asked to go through.

The fact-finding process has raised some interesting questions as we look back. With a three-way approach, three professional people had their respective responsibilities.

The experience of having such valuable and adaptable service from the Child Welfare League has strengthened a theory about how local planning agencies and national agencies in the direct service fields can work together for the maximum benefit of local communities. It is essential for community strength that we develop skill in managing the study process in community planning locally. However, we need outside help on those occasions when we want to bring the best influences to bear on the various service fields in our communities and require a higher level and more specialized program expertness than we are able to have regularly available. The specialized national agency seems the best possible resource for this help.

Built into the study, then, were values such as these: communication, information, learning, confidence, identification, a sense of direction, and deepened experience in community organization. These values are not, of course, uniformly and solidly established. There are and will continue to be as many variations in the dynamics of our relationships and ability to move ahead as are normal in any community picture. Already there is tangible evidence, however, that the study process was effective by the fact that several institutions have taken the initiative on important changes. Here are some of the things that happened even before the written reports were filed or the planning phase was started:

1. Four institutions have arranged for psychiatric consultation —not always well timed, because there were problems in casework service which should have been solved first.

2. One institution with serious personnel problems has increased salaries 20 percent across the board.

3. One institution has closed its service to preschool children.

4. Three institutions have employed qualified directors of casework.

5. Two institutions have employed well-qualified administrators.
6. Six positions for qualified caseworkers have been created.

With a spontaneous beginning such as this, there is encouragement that an organized community planning approach, with increased financing, will bring significant change. Stage Two in this community organization process should have the same components as Stage One: those that make it possible to work well together, and those that supply the needed program knowledge. Stage Two starts, we believe, with mutually held objectives for a well-coordinated, progressive group of children's institutions which will have their appropriate place in the community's child welfare services.

II. THE LAY LEADERSHIP

by MRS. IRVING EDISON

THIS IS A STORY of complex individuals, complicated situations, many problems. Prominent in the list of people affected by the study were 996 children, 8.5 caseworkers, and 352 board members. The setting is in sixteen children's institutions. The story shows every indication of having a happy ending, not in the fictional sense but in the human, practical realities of child welfare, which to all of us means helping children resolve their major conflicts to the degree that will secure for them inner peace and outer competence.

In St. Louis, four years ago, the lay and professional leadership of the Family, Old Age, and Children's Division of the Social Planning Council began to lay the groundwork for a broad, community-wide study of children's institutions. There were several reasons, psychological and practical, that precipitated us into this important and ambitious undertaking. The 1950 White House

Conference added fuel to the fire of community conscience in St. Louis as it did in other communities. Almost spontaneously, our lay and professional leadership began to consider an audit of our child welfare services. It quickly became apparent that this was not possible in terms of staff, technical consultation, and money. We decided to have an intensive field-by-field study of our child welfare services. In May, 1951, the Social Planning Council, with help from the Child Welfare League of America, Inc., had completed its first survey of a total field of service, a study of thirteen Community Chest day care centers. The day care study and the implementation of it were eminently successful, and we were encouraged to go on to the even more complex study of children's institutions.

St. Louis has more institutions than do most communities, and many of them have declining populations. We had not taken a broad look at our children's institutions in twenty years, and many questions were gnawing at the consciences both of lay and of professional people. Did we have too many institutions? Had they kept pace with the movement, and I quote John Dula, "from custodial care to emotional nurture"? Were we serving children for whom no other plan was possible in terms of their individual needs? Were we providing the professional help and emotional climate for daily living that would enable them to return as quickly as possible to normal family life? Were we doing our best to help parents and to preserve homes for children? These questions we could not answer because there was so much we did not know about our institutions and how they related to the needs of children.

The Family, Old Age, and Children's Division had established the policy of involving the community. During the past year, over five hundred people, more than half of whom were lay people, were brought into the various projects of the Division. The staff and the lay leadership of the Division spent months of preparation before the study was started. It is in the very nature of social planning that progress moves slowly. For a whole year, there was consultation and conversation with the Council board, with the Executive Committee of the Division, with the Conference of

Superintendents of Children's Institutions, with individual superintendents and board members.

Our experience had taught us that it was impossible for an agency to move forward without board understanding and action. We were aware of the tremendous emotional, personal, prideful, and financial investment board members have in the programs and buildings of their institutions. Some had not modernized their buildings. Were their programs equally obsolete? We expected that some boards would be sensitive and vulnerable. After all, how easy is it for any of us to look at ourselves and our agencies critically and analytically? The key persons were the board members. How could we arouse their interest, gain their voluntary participation and cooperation?

We achieved this in several ways. The years of patient, careful planning had developed interest and psychological readiness for the study. In June, 1952, we invited the boards and staff members of nineteen voluntary institutions to a dinner meeting. John Dula was the speaker. From Mr. Dula, the board members received an introduction to what constituted the purpose and goal of a modern institutional program. That was a real eye opener.

The idea that there should be a broad, community-wide study of children's institutions was projected. There were many questions, some antagonistic, some defensive, some fearful. But the weight of evidence carried, and so did a motion to invite the institutions to participate in a study and to request those institutions that were not in the Community Chest to share in the cost.

Following this meeting, an invitation to join in the study went to the president of each institution, requesting formal board action. Accompanying the invitation was an attractive public relations brochure setting out the study proposal and appealing particularly to board members. In addition, the non-Chest agencies were asked to share in the cost of the study. We were extremely gratified and amply repaid for the long period of preparation when seven Community Chest and nine non-Chest institutions accepted the invitation.

In the fall of 1952, our study was launched most auspiciously. The institutions had come into the study voluntarily, the non-

Chest institutions were paying their share of the cost of the study, and every institution was represented by a board member on the Study Committee. This was another way in which the institutions were kept close to, and involved in, the study. As with any sixteen people there were different degrees of interest, activity, and understanding. On the whole, however, the institutional representatives were conscientious and devoted, and their boards were kept aware of the process and progress of the study. As we became more deeply involved, it became apparent that we would need a small Executive Committee to share some of the detail work and planning and to protect the confidentiality of the findings of Helen Hagan, the technical consultant provided by the Child Welfare League.

It also became evident that our estimate that one year would be sufficient for the study was unrealistic: it would be at least two years before the institutions would receive their individual reports, as well as the over-all study report. This was too long a period for the institutions to wait. Some were anxious and impatient; others were planning changes and holding them in abeyance until the study was completed. And now I come to one of the unusual aspects of the study. We conceived a plan to have several lay members of the Executive Committee offer to meet with the board of each institution to share with them informally some of the findings and recommendations concerning their institution.

Our consultant, Miss Hagan, was brought into this plan. The meeting with each board was carefully planned. The Division staff secretary excerpted from Miss Hagan's material the central findings and the general recommendations that were already clear. Each member of the team going to an institution had a written summary of this material, as well as written material from the Research Bureau and the case readers. At a conference with the staff secretary, we would go over all this information and decide who was to be the spokesman. The staff secretary would advise us on the approach to each board in terms of their understanding, their readiness for change, their feelings toward the study, the Council, the lay leadership. Our aim was to have well-prepared, well-informed lay people talking to other lay people in language

they could understand, about general problems of mutual interest as well as specific ones relating to their institution.

Each conference started somewhat in this fashion: "We are lay people, we have been board members, we have the same interests." We would express appreciation to the board for their participation in the study, and comment on the strength in the program. We would then, in our layman's language, try to interpret what we had learned from Miss Hagan: which children should be in an institution; what the goals of institutional care should be; what this would require in staff, physical facilities, and group living program.

We shared with each board the general findings concerning their institution; and discussed the changes they would want to consider and the direction they might be intersted in going to fit into the community pattern of institutional services we were beginning to see emerge.

Personally, I was apprehensive about lay people carrying the responsibility for conveying and interpreting to board members the findings and recommendations of the study related to their institution. Would we know what to say and how to say it? Would we be capable of giving valid answers to what we hoped would be a spontaneous exchange of questions, ideas, attitudes?

Our first meeting with a board justified my fears. This was the board of a large sectarian institution composed entirely of men, mostly businessmen. They had worked hard to raise the money for the institution. They were proud of their achievement and confident that they were doing a good job. As spokesman I began with the positives, and there were many, including a devoted board and staff. The board members were meticulous in their co-operation (one of the first institutions to fill out the thick schedules developed by the Research Bureau). They were generous in their financial contribution to the study. The president and the super-intendent were active and interested members of the Study Committee. I rushed through all the positives. I just could not wait to get to those urgent problems: under one roof were ninety-three children, with overcrowding and little opportunity for privacy; there were many children, including preschool children, who

should not be there; casework service was only partially developed; there was no effort to work with parents. There was reasonable acceptance of these points, however, when we raised these questions: "Should children be used in fund raising? Are the children overworked in the institution? Is there not a real need in our institutions for group activities, for recreation, for happier living?" When we spoke of the meaning of these things to children deprived of parental affection, of food, clothing, spending money, there was some surprise, then a flow of questions. Recreation? Didn't the boys like to milk the cows, and besides wasn't it good for them? Why shouldn't the girls do laundry and cleaning? The children loved the hubbub of large groups coming to the institution for fund-raising purposes, and so on.

I went home discouraged, feeling that the meeting had been a dismal failure. But I was wrong. A few days later, I met the president of the institution, a kind and sincere man. He had been very close to us all during the study, and anxious to learn. I said to him, "We did not do a very good job with your board, did we?" "Oh, I don't know," he replied. Then he went on to say that after we had left the meeting, the board was upset, angry, and disappointed, and said, "Is this what we paid our money for?" "I answered them," said the board president, "by saying, 'Maybe it is. Why do you suppose those people came here? To hurt us? No, they wanted to help us to help the children.' "

Today, important improvements have been made in this institution. There are no preschool children in the institution; they have a well-qualified casework supervisor; they have merged with a foster home agency of the same denomination, and the former president is president of the merged agency. They are proud of the changes they are making. There is good feeling toward the study, toward the professional and lay leadership.

In a meeting with the board, composed of both men and women, of another large sectarian institution, with many of the same problems of the first institution as well as a few additional ones, the discussion got off on a tangent of religious differences in relation to salaries and incentives to serve. The atmosphere became uncomfortable and tense, and the conference was not productive. Here,

too, we had developed a close relationship with the institution's representative on the Study Committee. At her suggestion, we met again with the board, with a fresh team. At this second meeting, we brought with us the president of the first institution, who said to this board, "I know just how you feel—we felt the same way. They came to us and told us a lot of things about our institution that we didn't believe. Confidentially, we still don't believe some of them. However, I would like to suggest that you listen to them, you might want to do some of the things they recommend." "We," he went on rather proudly, "no longer have preschool children in our institution."

Again, we can report progress. Salaries in this second institution (the big point of contention at the first meeting) have been raised 20 percent across the board. A qualified director of casework and three trained social workers have been added.

A third meeting was with the board of a girls' institution, composed entirely of women. Here too there were many of the same problems as those found in the other two institutions: lack of adequate casework service; very little work with parents; girls who should not be there; girls remaining too long; the cottage mothers and the children working too hard. There were additional problems. There was some confusion as to the respective roles of the board and the administrator. There was a school program on the grounds that had none of the aspects of remedial education and isolated the girls from the community.

We had a seemingly positive response from this board at our meeting, but it took some months afterward for this group really to adjust to the findings of the study. But already, the school program has been reorganized, and most of the girls are going out to public school. The board is working closely with the Council in planning for the future. A psychiatric consultant has been added to the staff.

These three institutions were among those farthest removed from a modern institutional program. In our meetings with these three boards we thought we were the least skilled in our presentation. Yet, all three institutions were able to move forward even before our plan for implementation was crystallized. This was true

of other institutions. In fifteen of the sixteen there was a basic acceptance of the study; a desire to improve programs and physical facilities; a willingness to change in order to fit into a pattern of community services more adequately designed to meet the needs of children.

How did we get this willingness, this cooperation, this partnership? The continued involvement of board members before, during, and at the conclusion of the study gave them a feeling of taking an active part in the study. It placed the responsibility for change and progress where it belonged, with the board. The procedure of using lay members of the Executive Committee to meet with the boards contributed to the success of the study. It kept the lines of communication open during the long process. It created the atmosphere and opportunity for the "built-in implementation." All through the study, constructive changes were taking place. It was an excellent way of reaching and educating a large group of board members on standards of institutional care for children. And, finally, it served to prepare the institutions to receive their written reports.

All this could not have been accomplished without the help of the Child Welfare League, which made Helen Hagan available to us as consultant for the study. Only through her untiring efforts did we learn the facts of life in a children's institution.

In early July, 1954, Miss Hagan made her last three-week field trip. Miss Hagan and the Council staff worked feverishly. The Executive Committee met twelve times during this period to review the findings and recommendations which Miss Hagan had pulled together for each institution and to draft the over-all recommendations of the study.

Finally, to conclude the study, we brought together at a dinner meeting in October, 1954, exactly two years and four months later, the same people, the boards and staffs of the institutions, who at the earlier meeting in June, 1952, had encouraged us to begin the study. This we did for two reasons. We felt it was an appropriate way to conclude the study. Furthermore, we wanted to create a favorable psychological atmosphere and receptivity within the institutions for receiving their reports. Miss Hagan was our

speaker. Her subject was, "A Child's-Eye View of the Institution." Her sensitive description of the pain of rejection and the fear of the unknown a child feels in being uprooted from his home, of how alone and lonely he feels when he first enters the institution, had a deep emotional impact on all of us. It increased our understanding of the changes that needed to be made and it strengthened our determination to make them.

Now, our study was concluded. Most of the institutions were ready to move forward. They were looking to the Social Planning Council for leadership and help.

The Council through the Division, through the Research Bureau, and through board representation on the Study Committee was actively part of the study.

The Community Chest had contributed financially and also had representation on the Study Committee. We had assumed that implementation would be given priority. Nevertheless, we had some anxious moments. Our Community Chest did not make its goal. That has a familiar ring, I am sure. Nevertheless, despite the shortage of funds, the Chest has made it possible for a Division staff person to work with the institutions in carrying out the recommendations of the study. A Planning Committee on Children's Institutions has been organized and a large Advisory Committee to represent the institutions and the referring agencies is being set up. In presenting the report and interpreting the need to both the Social Planning Council and Community Chest boards, the lay leadership carried the responsibility.

Through the process of this study I have gained a deeper sense of the responsibility of lay leadership and the importance of involving lay people. On the other hand, I am fully cognizant that effective lay leadership is in direct proportion to the competence of professional leadership and its willingness to make the investment.

It is true that lay people were important members of the study team and frequently "carried the ball." But, frankly, we would not have known what to do with the ball, nor would we have known any of the plays or rules of the game, without our professional teachers, planners, coach. We lay people are completely dependent on our professional leadership.

For all of us, our children are our most important asset—our hearts, our hopes, our present, our future. Respect for the individual personality is part of our American culture. Increased knowledge of how that personality develops places tremendous responsibility upon all of us who are concerned with the well-being of children. In St. Louis we have accepted that responsibility. It has required of us vision, patience, persistence, courage, and hard work.

We have not reached Utopia. All I am trying to say is that we have fifteen boards with more understanding concerning the limitations and opportunities of group living and with a deep wish to help those children in our community whose needs can best be met in a group setting. So there can be some hope that they will emerge from our care whole and wholesome, a burden neither to themselves nor to their community.

Citizens to the Rescue of an Old City

by JULIA ABRAHAMSON

HYDE PARK–KENWOOD, on Chicago's South Side, is alive with activity. People are out with broom, shovel, and paint, or hustling from meeting to meeting studying the area's problems and working out solutions. They are sharing in an all-out effort to renew their community.

This demonstration of citizens in action began in November, 1949, when a small group of people met to see what could be done to meet the problems of Hyde Park and Kenwood. The population of 72,000, housed in a two-square-mile area, though largely middle-class, represented many economic groups. The educational level was much higher than the average for the city, and the percentage of professional people was similarly high. Housing included huge mansions, smaller family homes, spacious cooperative apartments, high-rise elevator buildings, three- and six-story flats, five- and six-story walk-ups. It was a cosmopolitan community: people of varied religious, national, and racial backgrounds made their homes there. Theirs was one of the finest inlying residential sections of the city, boasting the lake front, excellent transportation, the Museum of Science and Industry, the University of Chicago— more than its just quota of educational, cultural, and religious institutions.

But over the years insidious changes had been taking place. The community was threatened by blight. Its middle-aged buildings were deteriorating from overuse and lack of repair. An increasing population was putting pressure on housing, schools, recreation facilities, parking, and all city services. Apartments and homes were being cut up into smaller units and used illegally. There was fear of an increase in crime and juvenile delinquency. White people were moving out because Negroes were moving in.

For years, in every other part of Chicago, in other cities of the United States, this combination of problems had meant defeat. It had always been taken for granted that aging and deterioration went on until communities became slums and were abandoned to the bulldozer, that whites moved out when Negroes moved in and always would.]

The Hyde Park–Kenwood neighbors who met in 1949 took a different view. They liked their community—whites, Negroes, and Nisei alike—and refused to abandon it. They realized that the endless flight from neighborhood after neighborhood could not continue; the same problems would soon challenge all of Chicago and its suburbs. It was time people faced their community problems and dealt with them.

They believed that sociological patterns are the result of individual action and that people of intelligence and determination could establish a new pattern; that people of all races and creeds could and would work together for a stable community of high standards, with good schools, housing, recreation facilities, and all the rest. To implement those beliefs, they formed the Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference.

In the weeks that followed, more and more people were drawn into the effort. At public meetings, a forthright statement of purpose was adopted and an organization was set up. It developed: (1) a block program to unite neighbors in working on problems on their own blocks; (2) a panel of lawyers to work with the people on the prevention and correction of building and zoning violations; (3) committees to work on human relations and overcrowding in the schools; on such services as recreation, clean streets, better lighting; and on the integration of new neighbors into the community; (4) planning for what we called the "revitalization" of the community (we call it "renewal" now).

In the early days there was no budget, no office, no staff. Volunteer citizens paid for their own mailings, phone calls, and supplies. The organization was almost a year old before local contributions made it possible to set up a small store-front office and employ an executive director.

Difficulties were compounded by widespread distrust. It was

said that the Conference purpose was to bring Negroes into the area, that it was a Communist conspiracy. Undeterred, the founders covered the community, enlisting support. Interest and activity grew. New problems arose daily. Rumor and panic had to be replaced by fact; leaders had to be recruited and trained; channels of communication had to be created. The leaders developed methods of getting the facts; set up community clinics to train other leaders; held monthly meetings where leaders raised questions, exchanged information, and learned of new developments affecting the community. They shared this information with their neighbors through block meetings and made their block groups units of democratic participation.

Community people had to take the measure of their problems and resources. With the cooperation of many agencies, 200 volunteers shared in detailed studies of the area's problems and possibilities, housing, and social conditions and laid the base for planning.

Some problems were larger than the community; they needed broader solutions—more housing, both public and private; city-wide and suburban open occupancy; city-wide planning. Conference people committed themselves to working toward these ends.

They had to learn the functions and the problems of the various city departments. It soon became clear that more schools, more building inspectors, more city-wide planning, and conservation activities meant higher taxes. Conference members accepted real responsibility for giving public servants the tools with which to work. Within and beyond their community they spread understanding of the needs for school bond issues, increased budgets for city services, and money for creating and financing essential conservation bodies.

The Conference is now five and a half years old and nearly all its work is still done by volunteers. There are about two thousand dues-paying members and hundreds of others working on their own blocks, in committees, in the office. The Conference budget for 1955 is approximately $38,000. It provides for a staff of seven which administers and coordinates the work of the volunteers: lawyers, planners, architects, students, factory workers, university

professors, ministers and rabbis, elderly ladies, busy mothers, secretaries—even children who sometimes form the folding and stamp-licking brigade. The board of thirty-six directors makes policy and coordinates the activities of the many working committees.

Neighbors on 240 block strips have organized into 48 block groups and work together for block maintenance and improvement. They turn vacant lots into playgrounds; paint and landscape; rehabilitate property; encourage people to invest in their homes; obtain improved street lighting and street cleaning; have sidewalks repaired and rats exterminated.

They prevent unscrupulous operators from turning desirable housing units into overcrowded rabbit hutches by being so vigilant that it is impossible for lumber to be moved into a building without precipitating a call from a neighbor to the Conference office. Over a thousand building and zoning violations have been corrected. Panic selling of property has virtually stopped.

The Schools Committee, uniting leaders on the ten P.T.A.'s in the area, helped to secure a number of school additions, to prevent double shifts, and to create support for more school buildings and improved educational services throughout the city.

In the spring of 1952 the Conference was aided in its fight for community improvement by the formation of the South East Chicago Commission, which brought the support of the University of Chicago and powerful real estate and business interests to the renewal effort. In 1954 the Commission, with foundation support, set up a technical planning unit.

Meanwhile, community residents had become increasingly concerned about buildings that had already deteriorated into slums. After unsuccessful efforts to get the offending buildings removed by the city's Building Department, the Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference and the South East Chicago Commission invited the city's slum clearance agency to see if it could use its powers. It could. This spring the demolition and redevelopment of a forty-seven-acre section of the community will begin.

This signalizes a new concept of how slum clearance should work. For the first time, land-clearance powers of public agencies

are being put to work in an area 95 percent good instead of almost totally blighted. Because of citizen understanding, the redevelopment program has had the support even of a number of residents who will lose their homes because of it.

When urban renewal legislation was passed in 1954, Hyde Park–Kenwood was ready to use it. Largely because of the strength of its citizens' movement and the people's record in helping themselves, the area was chosen as Chicago's Urban Renewal Project No. 1. It has also been selected as the demonstration area for the newly formed Community Conservation Board. Following through on new state legislation, which area residents helped draft, four private groups have formed neighborhood redevelopment corporations with strong powers to conserve and improve their particular neighborhoods. The area continues to be chosen for experimental projects, the latest being a quarter-million-dollar youth conservation program.

I wish I could report that as a result of all this activity the community's problems have been solved and there is dancing in the spotless streets of a renewed Utopia. That is, unfortunately, far from true. A big job lies ahead. Thousands of additional people must be involved. New problems arise daily, and old, unsolved ones are still with us. We have not yet overcome the greed and exploitation that lead to overcrowding and deterioration. We must find the key to maintaining an interracial community. We must somehow impress on the leaders of our city the relationship between discriminatory housing practices and the spread of slums and get them to act courageously to stop both. We must learn to deal decently and wisely with the problems renewal itself brings, including relocation and fear of injustice. We must learn how best to work with existing interest and power groups, reconciling differences to reach common goals.

These are all grave problems, but our experience in Chicago has taught us that almost anything is possible, if people care enough. The community's work is being rewarded. The gains have come for a number of reasons: powerful institutional and business forces have joined in the fight; leaders in schools, churches, press, political office, public and private agencies are behind the effort.

But I am convinced that the dreamers of five years ago and the confidence and work of hundreds of people since provided the spark that is making the impossible become possible. The community's efforts are being widely recognized and copied in Chicago and in other parts of the country. Perhaps its greatest achievements are real changes in attitude and new patterns of action based on individual conduct. Community pride and confidence are gradually replacing discouragement and apathy. People are beginning to believe in their power as individuals to influence the building of the kind of community in which they want to live. Such communities cannot be built by planners and technicians, elected political representatives, public agencies, or superorganizations alone, no matter how brilliant and dedicated they are. These can provide blueprints and laws, but they cannot breathe life into them and make them work. This is the job of the people.

I have tremendous faith in the ability of people to accomplish almost unbelievable things if they are united, if they have the facts, and if they have a sense of direction. This puts tremendous responsibilities on leadership.

As social workers you know the facts about your communities, their people, their problems, and their resources. You have intimate knowledge of the relationship between home, family, and community conditions. You can, if you are not already doing so, use your leadership to make an immeasurably vital contribution to the prevention of blight and the renewal of your communities, and thus to the people you serve.

"The Philadelphia Story":
Community Rebuilding

by SYDNEY B. MARKEY

PHILADELPHIANS HAVE HEARD THEMSELVES QUOTING their founder, William Penn, on many occasions during the past decade. When the city was created on a master plan in 1681, William Penn donated five open squares of the city, expressing his belief in planning this way:

Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in ye middle of its platt, as to the breadth of it, that so there may be ground on each side, for Gardens, or Orchards, or Fields, yet it may be a Greene Countrie Towne, which will never be burnt and will always be wholesome.

The elements of a "Greene Countrie Towne" were lost a long time ago as the Industrial Revolution brought about a sprawling, formless city. Yet all during the more than two centuries which have elapsed, the seed which Penn planted has been nurtured among Philadelphians. It found expression in the past decade in a twentieth-century precept using the democratic process itself to achieve a wholesome city. The aroused leadership of Philadelphia has been determined to find answers to the city's many needs, through planning. The leadership has been insistent that any resultant action should come from full discussion involving citizen interests at every turn.

This, then, is the backdrop for the "Philadelphia Story." As yet, it should not be labeled a success story in measurable results of basic requirements for family living, achievable through such resources as housing, renewal, welfare, and education. Much remains to be accomplished before we can claim to be serving the many needs of the more than two million cosmopolitan city popu-

lation. That movement in this direction exists, can be stated by Philadelphians. To the extent that the several organizations charged with planning responsibilities are practicing integration is, to a large degree, responsible for the movement.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to describe how Philadelphia's planning, housing, redevelopment, welfare, school, religious, and citizen agencies are working at community rebuilding. The fact that this movement has been in the making for almost a decade is important to recall. One of the most significant developments during the period is recorded by a decision reached in September, 1947. Staff of the City Planning Commission and the Health and Welfare Council agreed that as city-wide organizations they were ready "to clarify our respective roles and to explore methods of working together as a team." The result was the formation of the Area Planning Conference. Since 1947 the professional staff of several key organizations have conferred each month, with three goals in mind: (1) an exchange of information; (2) clarification of function; (3) work on specific planning problems related to housing, welfare, redevelopment, and educational needs of the city.

A listing of organizations represented in the Conference is revealing. The possibilities for action on common goals are unlimited when regular communication exists between staffs of such organizations as:

> Board of Public Education
> Citizens' Council on City Planning
> City Departments of Recreation, Health, and Welfare
> City Planning Commission
> Commission on Human Relations
> Fellowship Commission
> Health and Welfare Council
> Housing Association
> Housing Authority
> Mayor's Housing Coordinator's Office
> Redevelopment Authority

Since the over-all program of the Conference has been described by the writer in papers presented at the National Conference of

Social Work,[1] attention will be directed solely to Conference
activity since May, 1954.

One subject, comprehensive planning, has dominated the year's
work. Philadelphia is moving to achieve a comprehensive plan of
land use to cover the entire city. In this major undertaking, all
organizations of the Area Planning Conference are joined to assist
the City Planning Commission in its work. The task is a tremen-
dous one. Already, problems born of current activities are raising
serious questions of expediency versus desired long-range goals.

Two illustrations will be given for their meaning to planning
organizations. The first comes from the experience of the Planning
Commission in taking part of its comprehensive plan to the com-
munity involved—Northeast Philadelphia.

The Northeast represents one of the two remaining open areas
of the city. Covering forty square miles with a population around
275,000, its upper region is relatively unpopulated. The physical
planners have submitted tentative ideas for the use of the open
areas. These were drawn up after some conference with other
planners, but not too definitively.

Citizen participation in discussion of the Northeast plan has
been encouraged and it has been achieved, with the result that
specific recommendations calling for many changes have been
recorded with the Planning Commission. The method of achieving
citizen participation is of importance to social workers. What has
been developing in Philadelphia, as a tool of community organ-
ization for health, welfare, and recreation planning, has played a
vital role in bringing citizen interest to the fore.

The Health and Welfare Council in Philadelphia operates both
through a central and a neighborhood area organization covering
the city. One such area is the Northeast. In each area the Council
maintains an office manned by a professional worker and secretarial
staff. The area staff works through a local advisory committee. To-
gether, citizens and staff seek to identify health and welfare needs
of the area and to answer these needs. The area committee has full

[1] "How Physical and Social Welfare Planning Can Work Together," Cleveland,
1953; "The Relation of Social Welfare Planning to Physical, Political, Church, and
Other Planning," Atlantic City, 1954.

access to resources represented by the central organization. On matters of local interest they have freedom of independent action. In substance, the organization provides for decentralization of health, welfare, and recreation planning while maintaining coordination at the center.

In the Northeast the staff welcomed the opportunity to bring to its citizen groups the question of the proposed comprehensive plan. These citizens, representative of all interests in the area, undertook review of the proposals with vigor and sincerity.

A plan for land usage in their area represents a live issue to citizens interested in health, welfare, and recreation services. Social workers concerned with the community organization process will recognize in such an assignment a tool of inestimable value. Here citizen interest in the common welfare comes to grips with essentials. There are few opportunities for the citizens of a metropolitan city to participate in basic decisions affecting their lives, and those of their great grandchildren as well, comparable with that provided by participation in land use planning. The appeal of the assignment to citizen interest was demonstrated in the response from the Northeast. In addition to the area leaders of the Health and Welfare Council, those from other groups like the Citizens' Council on City Planning participated fully and ably.

One of the first questions posed by the Northeast citizenry was indicative of the breadth of understanding of the assignment. They asked how any decision as to reservation of land for industrial development in their area could be made without reference to the total need for such land in the entire city.

No one can question the propriety of this inquiry. The fact that it places upon land use planners, new and complex responsibilities, such as sharing with Northeasters the picture of the city's industrial needs, is of secondary significance to this discussion. What is of primary importance is that the citizens are responding and are asking penetrating and valid questions. To all planners, and to social planners in particular, this type of performance represents true citizen participation.

One further example of the type of response is worth noting. Citizens concerned with health and welfare planning have asked

that "good" land be reserved for school, playground, church, library, and welfare organizations. Their views were stated as follows:

a) Land for recreation and/or education should be reserved immediately when the plan becomes final.

b) A piece of land once reserved for a specific use should not be used for other purposes unless in making a change, another piece of land of equal size and in an equally good location, is also changed to replace it.

c) Before the plan becomes final, provision should be made to reserve enough land for the use of *all* community service agencies—churches, fire and police stations, voluntary health, recreation and welfare agencies and public welfare agencies.

Comments such as these were summarized by the statement that "a comprehensive plan has only academic value unless it is comprehensively carried out." These citizens concluded by offering to review the plan as changes are considered by planning officials.

The values of such citizen participation speak for themselves. The challenges therefrom to planning officials are not to be belittled. They mean that planners must realistically face questions which too long have been dormant. One such question for Philadelphia is the potential of multiple use of community service buildings. Joint planning between school, recreation, welfare, and library planners is one field wherein action becomes imperative. Another is the requirement for consistent policies in zoning for residential living. Maintenance of standards and removal of the threat to reasonable family living by the too frequent practice of variances looms large as a problem in Philadelphia, where row housing threatens to take up major portions of remaining vacant land.

The values inherent in citizen participation make the problems resulting from the planners relatively solvable. These are the citizens who pay the bill, whether through taxes or voluntary giving. These are the citizens who are the heart of any city; upon their belief in the democratic process and the result it achieves, rests the future of our American way of life.

The second illustration is also related to comprehensive planning, but through a quite different approach. It comes from the

work of the housing coordinator, whose work is attached to the mayor's office.

The housing coordinator is what the title implies. Utilizing the full weight of the municipal administration, the coordinator brings together the several agencies of local government dealing with housing. His job is to achieve the most effective use of the resources they represent. Simultaneously, the coordinator works with the several voluntary organizations concerned with housing.

As part of the workable plan, submitted in accordance with the 1954 Housing Act of Congress, the coordinator undertook four pilot projects. These were designed to learn how the local planning and housing agencies could be teamed for immediate and long-time results in accordance with the workable plan for urban renewal.

The pilot work has been in operation for about nine months. These leadership projects were designed to experience what housing code enforcement, rehabilitation, and conservation would point up by way of three varied approaches to housing requirements. It is too early to draw conclusions about the projects. They have revealed problems galore, all helpful for the learning experiences to date and those which lie ahead.

Yet one conclusion is clear to all members of the Area Planning Conference: the comprehensive plan is a "must" to the work of the housing coordinator. No matter where the leadership projects take hold—code enforcement, rehabilitation, or conservation—citizens concerned ask the same fundamental question raised by the Northeasters. They want to know what the comprehensive plan indicates should be the future of their neighborhood. Questions of density, streets, school, playground, commercial, and similar essentials to rebuilding the neighborhood for family living can be properly answered only in relation to basic decisions coming from comprehensive planning.

The result has been new vigor to work on the comprehensive plan. While the leadership projects continue to deal with the hundreds of problems each has unearthed, the coordinator uses these to advance comprehensive planning.

One immediate result has been renewed effort to a phase of

coordination in planning, which is of major interest to the Conference. Currently, in one of the leadership areas, housing, school recreation, health and welfare planners are jointly looking at land use with the goal of coordination of resources and programs. The goal is to achieve the maximum for the people to be served. In the process, comprehensive planning will be advanced.

In each of the four leadership project areas, citizen participation is sought at every level. All members of the Conference utilize their contacts with citizen groups to the fullest possible degree of active sharing in local decision-making.

The two illustrations given from this year's work of the Area Planning Conference on behalf of comprehensive planning typify what Philadelphia is attempting by way of an integrated approach. The efforts of the land planners in the Northeast and the work of the housing coordinator in four pilot projects represent a joint attack in which all planning organizations equally share.

Philadelphia may yet achieve basic elements of the "Greene Countrie Towne" William Penn envisioned almost three centuries ago. By fully practicing modern concepts of planning known to land use, welfare, housing, redevelopment, education, and citizen organizations, and manifested in the comprehensive plan of the City Planning Commission, movement, through action, is resulting.

The success of the action will be demonstrated by how well the results serve to bring good living for all families of the city. At this time, the organizations sharing in the assignment as members of the Area Planning Conference are enthusiastic as to its possibilities, since every opportunity is open for citizen participation in the decisions to be made.

To social work the meaning is abundantly clear. When citizens can have a realistic part in decisions which affect the major environmental factors of urban living, we are reaching one of the fundamental goals of our profession. And when, in the process, we are joined by fellow professionals from allied fields of planning, all are demonstrating a maturity which speaks for our skills, as we seek to advance the common welfare we serve.

The Citizen's Role in Community
Planning for Services to Migrants

by FLORENCE R. WYCKOFF

THIS IS A LAYMAN'S ACCOUNT of the work of the Fresno
West-Side Rural Health and Education Committee. For this pur-
pose the term "citizen" in the title refers to all those who took
part in the establishment of the services, whether growers, cotton
pickers, nurses, doctors, teachers, ministers, priests, rabbis, super-
visors, social workers, or housewives. The term "community"
means a county as big as the whole state of Massachusetts, or an
isolated labor camp in which a thousand families are living fifty
miles from the nearest town. The term "migrant" means the
seasonal farm worker who hates to be called a "migrant." He
regards it as an insult or as though it implied he was an outsider.
For basic reasons inherent in our nation's history no one who
migrates from another country to this country or from one state
to another should be made to feel himself an outsider. The use of
the word "migrant" is one, therefore, which I prefer to disavow,
if it means that a migrant is not a full citizen entitled to have a role
in the planning for the community in which he lives.

Those who have never seen California's San Joaquin Valley
need a brief sketch of the background. From north to south it
is divided down the middle by a railroad and a highway. To
the east are the Sierra Nevada Mountains, snow-capped the year
round and the source of water for the many East Side farm com-
munities which have been settled and prosperous for generations.
Each of these towns has its health, welfare, and recreational facil-
ities within easy reach.

On the other side of the highway is the vast West Side, 250 miles

long and 100 miles wide, until a decade ago a dry, flat, treeless, and almost uninhabited expanse. Then, by a remarkable feat of engineering, water was brought onto the land. The boom that followed made California the leading cotton-producing state and Fresno the largest cotton-producing county in the United States. All the sorrows and blessings that usually follow in the wake of cotton came to that area. The West Side ranches are very large landholdings ranging from 3,000 to 68,000 acres. Upon this ocean of cotton are located upward of 450 camps, housing from 500 to 2,000 laborers. No towns of any size exist on the West Side.

Primary schools are sprinkled over the area, but a child who attends high school must make a round trip of as much as eighty miles a day from the more remote camps. Somehow very few children seem to get to high school. Professional workers, such as nurses, doctors, and welfare workers, whose headquarters are in the county offices in Fresno must travel at least eighty or ninety miles a day to visit these camps.

The nearest thing to a community on the West Side is the camp itself. It may be near a crossroad where there is a general store, a gas station, a garage, and a couple of bars. There are scarcely any little homes where teachers, nurses, and other professional workers can live, unless the growers or the school district builds them. The lack of the simple facilities found in most towns makes it unusually difficult to extend to this area the regular services offered to the rest of the public.

One must also bear in mind that Fresno County has a seasonal variation in employment of over 250 percent, the largest in the state. The usual cotton-picking season starts in September and lasts until January. Cotton is the last crop of the year; and when the work ends many of the workers have no place to go. Cotton chopping or thinning does not start until April, so there is a three- or four-month period of unemployment. Some of the growers permit the pickers to stay on in the camps through the winter. Savings run low, clothes and cars are traded for food. Little help can be had from the Welfare Department because of residence requirements, so before long many families are subsisting on the meager unbalanced diet offered by the available surplus commodities.

The schools make a valiant effort to care for the children. Some of them serve both breakfast and lunch to those who need it.

This story begins in the fall of 1949, which was unusually hot. The cotton crop was picked early, and more than the normal number of workers were employed. A wet winter followed during which more families faced an extended period of unemployment. Local agencies exhausted their resources trying to alleviate the suffering. Malnutrition became a serious problem. Infant diarrhea spread through the valley; and more and more babies died. The county had to set up a special fund to bury them. The workers felt that no one cared about their hardships; and the growers felt that they were blamed for tragedy and misery that were not their responsibility. Recriminations flew back and forth. Feeling ran high; and wild rumors added to the tension. National publicity on the deaths of twenty-eight infants brought about a crisis.

Governor Warren asked the State Department of Public Health to call together the various public agencies in the valley to set up a temporary emergency program to alleviate the distress. Nurses, doctors, welfare workers, health educators, teachers, nutritionists, Red Cross and Agricultural Extension workers all pitched in to do what they could to help. An interagency committee met weekly until the crisis passed. Here, representatives from all services met to discuss the problems, and here was laid the foundation for future teamwork in long-range planning.

All over the valley citizens in different walks of life volunteered to do their part. There were some thoughtful people who were already at work quietly making constructive plans for the future. For example, the chairman of the Health Committee of the Fresno Coordinating Council, a member of the grand jury, arranged to take members of the jury on a tour of the camps to get a first-hand idea of the peculiar problems of remoteness: lack of proper food, clothing, and shelter; and the obstacles that stood in the way of extending health, sanitation, and other desperately needed services to the camp dwellers. This remarkable woman was a small grower herself and understood employers' problems. She had a comprehensive knowledge of the principles of good public health and had taken the lead for many years in trying to build up an

adequate health department in the county. She was the ideal citizen to act as a spark among many groups to bring improved health services to this segment of the population which was so badly neglected. She was a natural pioneer and had the patience and determination necessary to overcome great obstacles.

Upon the request of a group of citizens, Governor Warren appointed a committee to survey the agricultural labor resources of the San Joaquin Valley in the spring of 1950. This committee held hearings up and down the valley and published a report and recommendations, one of the best sources of information ever produced on this subject. It stimulated many citizens to take part in planning ways better to integrate the seasonal agricultural worker and his family into the life of the community.

In many communities new programs and services grew out of good planning between the citizens and the agencies. Since it is only possible to relate briefly the high lights of one I have selected the story of the establishment of the clinics because it is an example of good community organization.

In the winter of 1949, the United States Public Health Service was asked to conduct, as an emergency measure, an intensive study of the causes of infant diarrhea which was killing so many babies. A nationally known specialist was sent out to plan the project. Seven thousand children under ten years of age were examined in the first study. The remarkable success of the scientific hunt for this killer can be read in the May issue of the Department of Public Health magazine, *California's Health*.

Even more important was the birth of a new relationship with our neighbors who live in the camps. This new pattern formed the basis for much of the future progress. To do the door-to-door visiting necessary to locate the children to be examined, and above all to gain the understanding and cooperation of the parents, presented a tremendous challenge to the few public health nurses. As one school principal on the West Side said:

Here we have people who live in a group yet know nothing about group living. Their unit of living is the family. Because of poor economic conditions, and lack of educational opportunities in the states from which they came, we find these people exceedingly ignorant and

fearful. Never having had services offered to them before, they are very reluctant to accept. It has taken a very special form of group dynamics on the part of the personnel working in this project, to get acceptance.

A few parents were persuaded to attend the first well-baby clinics held in the cabins. Here came some of the least shy parents, who had gained a little confidence in the nurses, the doctors, and the public health program. Around these few parents was slowly built the nucleus of the camp health committees. These committees were started by the nurses in twenty-six of the larger camps. Little by little, with much work and encouragement from the nurses, the committees grew to twenty or even fifty members each. The reason for the survey was explained: "We are all trying to find what is making so many babies sick." This idea was discussed until it gained acceptance. The eighth grade pupils, many of whom were quite adult, and for most of whom it would be the last year of school, were given a responsible share in the great campaign to reach every family with the story. Gradually, the idea that they were neighbors trying to help one another grew. Thus, the first step was taken in learning to work together as a group. The camp health committees began to talk over their problems. The nurses taught sanitation, personal hygiene, and baby care. The Agricultural Extension Service, a member of the interagency team, developed techniques suitable for camp living, demonstrated the use of surplus commodities and other foods which were available but had not been used because they were not understood. All these group activities were conducted in the crowded space of a tiny cabin, but they generated the feeling of community spirit.

An equally important part of these communities is the growers. Here too a new relationship was developing. We must realize that West Side growers are different from city employers. The growers who participated in the health program were a progressive nucleus among other growers, although judged by urban standards they might not be so considered at all. They have a high resistance to any form of union organization; and most of them object to any measures that would include their employees in unemployment or social security programs. They usually prefer Mexican labor and resent any interference with this labor supply.

Those who are concerned with the health of their employees have a horror of being labeled "do-gooders." An atmosphere in which the "hard" man is admired is uncomfortable for the grower who has an avowed concern for the condition of the migrants. To a grower who had given unemployed families free shelter in his camps, blame for their hunger and illness seemed most unfair. Many growers had simply closed their camps and let the families seek shelter elsewhere. Resentment ran high among those who had tried to help and had been bitterly criticized, and they felt in no mood to cooperate.

It was most fortunate that the local health officer happened to have chosen a particularly gifted director of nurses. She gathered a corps of skillful public health nurses and inspired them with a sense of dedication to their work. Her genius lay in choosing her nurses wisely and training them to treat the poorest migrant with gentleness and dignity no matter what his condition, never to talk down to him, and to maintain an attitude of equal give-and-take which let a man keep his self-respect. It was significant that dictatorial methods did not work with either a cotton picker or a grower. The approach to each one required an equal amount of tact and diplomacy to gain cooperation.

The key to success at this moment was a decision to drop all recriminations and "accent the positive." It meant looking for ways to do something constructive within the framework of the possible and with the materials at hand. So the first real attempt to pull all the different elements of the West Side into a cooperative effort was the diarrhea survey. The growers gave the cabins for the clinics. Their wives and the foremen's wives and the cotton pickers all pitched in, side by side, to do the work. This was the first community effort.

Then others joined. The county medical society began to take an interest in the West Side when the United States Public Health Service specialist presented the proposed survey and enlisted the aid of a number of their members.

The Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth had been doing all it could to encourage good interdepartmental teamwork to develop needed services on the state level; but it

soon became apparent that real progress would be made only if sound community planning was conducted on the local level. Here were the ability, the desire, and the courage on the part of a good cross section of local citizens to sit down together and try to prevent a repetition of the previous disastrous winter. The one thing lacking seemed to be a rallying point.

Then by a strange coincidence word came from the National Consumers League of a legacy to be used for the improvement of living conditions of migratory agricultural workers and their families. This was good news to the interagency team. It was what was needed to call into being the Rural Health and Education Committee, Inc., composed of growers, doctors, camp committee members, teachers, and other leaders. They took a careful look at the past and decided to do a piece of pioneering by trying to demonstrate a new way of making a genuine community out of the West Side. All the local resources that could be found were rounded up, but still there was not enough to do the job. So, foundation funds were sought in order to carry the plans through the demonstration period. Afterward, those services which proved effective could be made a permanent part of a public program if the citizens so desired.

The chairman of the Rural Health and Education Committee, a West Side cotton grower, helped to make sure that this was the "folks on the West Side trying to solve their own problems and not the city folks telling them what they better do out there." It was decided after a few meetings that the most pressing need was for larger quarters in which to hold the clinics and classes. So the chairman led off by making his contribution in the form of a health center to be the first building in a planned community center which would contain a model child care center, home demonstration and Red Cross classrooms, and a recreation hall. The health center was a joint effort in which the camp committee also shared by making furniture, equipment, and curtains. Soon other growers looked it over. One grower who had suffered a bad fiasco when he tried to do something for his workers but gave them no part in the enterprise—and they had expressed the resentment by wrecking it—said: "I am willing to play ball this way: I'll put

up the building, if the rest will chip in and help run it, then we'll all be in it together."

Still more growers came to see the center and talked with the nurses about the building plans; and before long six good health centers were built, equipped, and donated to the project. Then came the first grant of money from the Rosenberg Foundation of $22,000 in 1951 to help launch the new demonstration.

The plans for this health program were developed from information gained in the course of the first diarrhea survey, which pointed sharply to the need for general medical clinics for the family as well as for the prenatal and child health conferences. It also became clear that the clinics would have to be held at night so that the whole family, an inseparable unit, could come without too much loss of work.

The service finally set up for demonstration was an extension of the medical care program of the county hospital which provided treatment for emergency conditions, plus the regular preventive and educational programs of the Department of Public Health. At first, each month there were eight medical care and five prenatal clinics, in addition to the well-baby clinics, staffed by a heroic group of doctors and nurses who drove eighty and ninety miles in a night through barren country over rough roads to bring desperately needed care week after week to families in the most remote labor camps. The condition of the patients clearly demonstrated the great need for the clinics.

Many significant lessons were learned on why it is unrealistic to try to superimpose urban patterns on rural areas. For example, one night at the prenatal clinic the first person in line was a man. The women urged the doctor to care for him first. He had an agonizing abscess in his ear, caused by a sharp thorn from the cotton. The doctor had come with only the equipment for the prenatal work, and had to improvise equipment to treat the man. Luckily, the doctor was a general practitioner and a man with imagination equal to the situation. This incident shed some light on why the specialist was sometimes unhappy about serving in the camp clinics where he was the only doctor within reach among a large number of people in pressing need of all kinds of medical care.

Lessons like this taught how to adjust the services to the migrants' way of life. Again and again, good preventive work was done to arrest the spread of communicable diseases. Perhaps the most thrilling moment was when the news went around that the high infant mortality had begun to drop. There was great rejoicing. Later word came that there was no longer need for the infant burial fund. This was before any results of the diarrhea survey had been analyzed. The drop in infant mortality was due to the fact that the illness was apprehended earlier, when it was curable. So there were fewer desperate last-minute dashes to the county hospital fifty miles away with a hopelessly sick baby. With general medical care clinics twice a week, it was possible to watch over the infants and teach the parents how to prevent the dreadful dehydration which led to death. There was much follow-up work done by the nurses visiting in the homes, and wherever they went sanitation and personal hygiene were taught to prevent the spread of the disease. This was not easy to do in cabins without water or with dirt floors. Naturally, there was much greater success where water was piped in and it was possible to keep the cabin clean. The camp committees were encouraged by the visible improvement in the health of their families, and increased their share of the door-to-door educational work. The growers took more pride in their community centers and began to build more cabins with inside plumbing. More and more agencies began to develop suitable programs geared to life in the camps.

The child-care workers, the Red Cross home nursing teacher, the Home Missions Council, the Agricultural Home Demonstration agent, the Girl Scouts, the Tuberculosis Association, and many others used imagination, skill, and a true spirit of the good neighbor in their fine work in the West Side centers. The story of the schools and the remarkable genius of the West Side school superintendent and pioneering in new methods and materials deserves a whole book. There too the Rosenberg Foundation made possible a special study of the needs of the children of migrants in fifteen school districts.

Do not think this a simple success story. There have not only been frustrations and disappointments, there have been many

problems that have flatly defied solution. For example, no satisfactory way has been found to provide for the custodial care of infants up to two years of age. Too often they are found locked in a hot automobile, or left under a cotton bush in the path of a machine, or in a cabin under the care of a small child. After much effort, a lovely child care center was built, but it was found that state laws do not permit the care of infants under two years of age in such places under the supervision of the schools. Our social legislation is based upon the sound philosophy that the baby should be in the mother's care, and that the mother should be able to stay home with her baby. But when a mother is asked to stay home from the fields, she gives the harsh answer, "Well, if we don't work, we don't eat."

[All the troubles of the seasonal agricultural worker stem from the lack of year-round employment. The average of 160 days of work a year is simply not enough to hold body and soul together. The members of the Rural Health and Education Committee are fully aware of this basic difficulty and are valiantly struggling to overcome it. One grower has managed to provide work the year round by setting up a supplementary industry. More and more mechanization is reducing the need for the harvest worker who follows the sun, but we all know he will be with us for a long time to come. The committee knows that it is meeting only a fraction of the need, but it is continuing to search for new ways to improve the lot of this necessary but neglected man and his family.]

I should like to explain why the health story was selected as of special significance. In this field it is possible to trace the pattern of participation of both the migrants and the growers, as well as of many other professional and lay groups from the very beginning. The test came when the Foundation grants expired. The critical moment arrived when the request was made to the County Board of Supervisors for funds to continue the clinics and health services on the West Side as a regular part of the public program. They voted to do it because so many people understood the program and wanted it. Both big and little taxpayers were in favor of it. A great variety of groups had taken an active part in the planning

and development of the service. The growers had sent committees around the state to find the best model layout for the community centers. The doctors had argued with hostile members of their own profession about the new departures from traditional methods and had finally won the approval not only of the County Medical Society, but of the American Medical Association representative sent out to inspect the project.

Best of all, the growers, the workers, the doctors, and the nurses had sat up nights working together to be able to present a successful demonstration of the service to the board. They each took pride in it, felt a part of it. The planning was done with all the people concerned. The broad support it received was "built in" from the start. All joined hands to bring some of the good things of life to the West Side and to try to make every soul living on its vast expanse feel a part of the community.

Planning Decentralized Programs

by FLORENCE RAY

PLANNING IS A PROCESS that in social welfare is used in order to determine services to meet needs of persons and communities and to balance resources and needs. It is accomplished through coordinated action by persons representing: (1) organizations prepared to administer services; (2) financial contributors or taxpayers from whom money is needed for financing; and (3) communities that will be affected by the provision or lack of service. The process tends to provide a focal point whereby pertinent facts are recognized as important, principles are agreed upon, differing points of view are expressed, and ideas are turned into reality.

In social work the essence of planning is in its voluntary character. Organizations participate only if they want to, rules are called "policies," plans are called "recommendations," standards are agreed upon and not rigidly ordered. This has proved to be advantageous in that it builds on the traditions of the past through the participation of representatives from existing organizations, provides for communication and thereby coordination among agencies, makes possible creation of new ideas through the interaction of representatives, and by being voluntary and flexible furnishes an open channel whereby new and better patterns can be established. Above all, it looks to what might be by keeping its eye on new developments and on new community needs.

This matter of decentralization of social group work services, oddly enough, has consistently intrigued centralized planning groups because such groups should provide services to meet new needs. Where the same planning group is responsible for allocating funds as well as for planning services, frustration results because of the desire and necessity to plan and at the same time to be fair

and equitable. Satisfactions also pertain because of the real accomplishment when both funds and approval are granted. Aggressive agencies and aggressive citizen groups are only partially responsible for the frustration. The diversity of the field, the strong adherence to beliefs because of our characteristic "movements," the lack of a fully agreed-upon professional base, the controversy within the field about standards of service, the specializations that have grown and developed—all contribute to a difficult task for any planning group. Even more tantalizing is the optimism that there must be some factual, scientific way to plan so that in addition to value judgment and the process of negotiation and agreement, there can be a body of knowledge and an objective yardstick.

In Cleveland there is an organization, designated and supported by the community, whose task it has been to plan. The Group Work Council has existed for twenty years and is fairly typical of similar planning groups throughout the United States. Although the leadership, both lay and professional, rotates, there has been an accumulation of experience from which I shall draw in describing efforts, results, and problems in planning for decentralized services.

About eight years ago one very strong, large social settlement within the autonomy of the Council had diverged from the then accepted settlement pattern into a program of research in child development. The agency had also maintained one settlement branch, a nursery school, and a camp. A study was recommended, and the next year's budget allocation was withheld pending the study.

Eduard Lindeman was engaged to guide the study. In his report Dr. Lindeman recommended that settlements experiment with a much more flexible approach, combining several in order that there be one settlement organization cutting across geographical areas, and large enough to employ some central administrative personnel, concentrating program personnel in the neighborhoods. This would lead to flexibility as far as geographical areas to be served and flexibility in use of facilities, since he also recommended use of community facilities, and at the same time would provide for sound budget and administrative skill.

A Group Work Council committee with much communication with boards of Cleveland settlements evolved a plan which resulted in the Neighborhood Settlement Association. Three settlements agreed to merge their efforts in the creation of the new, larger, and different agency. Hearings were held with representatives of six communities who were eager that the Council provide new settlement service in their communities. Three were selected on the basis of study of needs, and the organization created by the merger was extended to cover these three new areas. Funds formerly allocated to the three agencies formed the original base of operation. Three new operations were started. Not only were arrangements made for the use of school and recreational facilities in the new areas, but the agency was able to develop administrative arrangements whereby staff salaries are paid for by both chest and public funds.

In planning for these new services the committee carefully stated that in the initiation of the service there should be consultation with community groups on location, membership of advisory committees, and program. The impact of the fact that community groups had originally participated by defining need as they saw it was very great in the acceptance of the programs in the communities. Staff, in effect, were given the responsibility for directing both the public recreation program and the settlement service as a unified social group work and recreational program on a decentralized base. Although complicated administratively, these programs have provided a great deal in the community, and I am sure were started much more quickly than would have been possible had new agencies been created.

Non-building-centered programs with national organization connections are probably the original decentralized programs in our field. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, as they have used decentralized sponsorship of groups and use of facilities, have now evolved through their district form of organization an even more highly developed form of decentralization. In a way, the fact that the individual boy or girl is conscious of belonging to the national movement and shares the common program with the other members throughout the nation has made the combination of decentralization and centralization an excellent structure

through which to provide new services. The difficulty in planning for these services results from the extreme responsibility placed on the central administrative units to eliminate competition for the time of children, inasmuch as these are social agencies as well as "movements." One rash suggestion made in a planning committee was that perhaps the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls could agree on one professional worker who would represent the three organizations in the outlying sections of a metropolitan area. From an economic point of view this seemed plausible, since all three find it difficult to cover wide geographical districts. Needless to say, the disadvantages outweighed the advantages.

The real effort in Cleveland has taken place in the Council through the following process: *Ad hoc* study committees on proposals for extension of services—stemming either from agencies or from civic groups—had been the pattern in the Council prior to 1949. At that time the Council created a Committee on Unmet Needs in which all such proposals could be considered. It was hoped then that knowledge of the needs in the city as well as of the services offered by the agencies could be developed and a system for recommendation could be determined. It was hard to be objective, for instance, when a large agency with a host of supporters presented a proposal for a new branch; or when a citizens' group specifically stated it wanted a certain agency service. Underneath the enthusiasm or pressure, committee members would sometimes sense a subjective rather than an objective reason for the need. Competitive attitudes among agencies invariably appeared. The chances of a well-administered service succeeding are good almost anywhere, but there still is the hope that "need" in a community can be justified of itself and in relation to other communities. Meanwhile, decisions continued to be made.

One of the first assignments to the Committee on Unmet Needs was a review of the five-year plans of all the agencies (part of a larger project). Supposedly, such review would lead toward recommendations for the elimination of duplication, for an analysis of real need, and for a unified plan for the development of social group work and recreation services, both public and private. The volume of the material alone made the committee's task difficult.

After three months of weekly meetings at which plans of twenty-four agencies were presented to the single committee made up of lay and professional people, the committee agreed that it had practically had an educational course, but that the lack of factual data upon which to make recommendations was so great that its task was insurmountable.

The same committee had made great efforts in studying three different areas of the city to develop factual data upon which to plan new services. In each of the three areas, residents of the community were full-fledged members of the study committees. Plans for major new decentralized services, public and private, were made and eventually executed. As a result of the five-year plan and the studies in the three areas, in addition to making recommendations on proposals for decentralized programs in other areas of the city, the Committee on Unmet Needs set up a research project.

The objective of the Group Work Council Research Project was to determine what factors are important in measuring the need for leisure-time services throughout the geographical areas of the city. A competent research director, Mrs. Virginia K. White, was engaged, and numerous committees were appointed to advise on the different aspects of the approved plan for the study. We discovered a number of discrepancies in planning. The major one was the fact that leisure-time service agencies really meet two separate kinds of needs: the needs of individuals; and the needs of the community or society as a whole. We came to refer to the dual objective of leisure-time services. The need for services, we realized, could not be measured by looking at the needs of individuals *per se* in this field.

The report of the study has been published and is available, but a brief mention of some of the concepts[1] as well as of the process will throw some light on the essence of planning. The first concept agreed to is as follows:

Leisure-time services should be available to all age groups, both sexes, in all parts of the community, without regard to economic, so-

[1] Virginia K. White, *Measuring Leisure-time Needs* (Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1954), pp. 19, 20, 21.

ciological, ethnic or cultural differences. This concept is based on the following premises:

Inherent in a democratic society is the concept of the value of the individual. Our society is based on the conviction that each person has worth and should be helped to develop his fullest potentialities.

Constructive use of leisure time contributes to the development of the individual and his capacity to participate in and contribute to society.

The strength of our democratic society is dependent on the extent and quality of the participation and contribution of all of its citizens.

The second concept is:

Planning is required if the leisure-time needs of people are to be met in such a manner as to contribute maximum positive values to the individual and to society. This concept is based on the following premises:

The structure of our present-day urban society makes it difficult if not impossible for most persons to meet all of their own leisure-time needs. Like other common needs, these can best be met by joining together to provide better service for all.

Similarly, the structure of our present-day urban society does not provide the degree of social controls which, in an earlier, largely rural society were more effectively exerted by such institutions as the home, the church and the school. Planned leisure-time services supplement the values of these older institutions and help to counteract the hazards of increasing amounts of leisure time not constructively utilized.

Planning implies general agreement on certain guiding principles as the basis for providing services. The principles should be based on general agreement concerning the leisure-time needs of individuals and communities as well as the extent to which the community should attempt to subsidize these needs.

Some parts of the community have different or greater needs than others. The community has the responsibility to study the relative needs of its various parts and to relate the extent to which leisure-time services are provided to the ability of the various parts to meet their own needs.

The first concept is an affirmation of the values which constructive leisure-time activities have for all individuals and for the larger community. The second concept recognizes the community's responsibility for planning in order that its resources be distributed in a manner to achieve maximum effectiveness. It recognizes that the responsibility for achieving the goals inherent in the constructive use of leisure time is shared with other institutions such as the family, the school, and the

church, and also that the contribution of these institutions to meeting the needs of people has developed unevenly in various strata of society.

In order to arrive at any method of measurement of need that could be reduced to factors, the committee had to formalize what became known as the common objectives of leisure-time services. This part of the planning process involved much time and hard work, but the objectives were drawn from the statements of purpose of agencies as well as from the thinking of leading professional social group workers:

Leisure-time services contribute to the development of:

1. The social adjustment of the individual and constructive social relationships between individuals and groups

2. Individuals and groups with a sense of social responsibility and social initiative appropriate to a democratic society

3. Emotional health

4. Ethical and spiritual values

5. Preservation and integration of the best values of diverse cultural groups

6. Esthetic growth and expression

7. Intellectual development

8. Physical health.

The committee then (and this is given in the report in detail) turned its attention to what means we use in attaining the objectives and in implementing them. This process led to a statement of the considerations that affect the degree of need for community-subsidized leisure-time services. We then had a list of considerations evolved from the objectives of services which provided us material for criteria.

Another committee then looked at population data and data about communities, and worked out two separate indexes: the "Index of Area Characteristics," describing those factors which meet the need of the normal social function; and an "Index of Social Problems," which reflects the need due to psychosocial dysfunction. In other words, there are certain needs of all people and all communities which leisure-time services are intended to meet, and there are in addition certain social problems which

social group work services also help to alleviate. The development of the concept of the dual role of social group work services has greatly aided in the planning for the distribution of services. We no longer put a premium, for example, on the incidence of juvenile delinquency *per se,* or on the increased population *per se,* but look at a combination of factors that reflect both types of need. The study with its development of social planning areas and with the provision of agreed-upon pertinent information about all the areas simultaneously has provided the Group Work Council with one step toward planning for decentralization.

In the "Index of Social Characteristics" are the following factors, each made up of several components: (1) socioeconomic status; (2) space; (3) stability of population; (4) individuals living alone; (5) children seven to seventeen; (6) young adults eighteen to twenty-four; and (7) population age sixty and over.

The "Index of Social Problems" includes: (1) social maladjustment; (2) financial dependency; (3) ill health; (4) family and individual adjustments; (5) crowded housing; and (6) undesirable neighborhood conditions.

In both indexes only data were used which could be easily obtained from the United States Census, or the research department statistics, as well as statistically proved to reflect need as determined by the social group workers. This process opens the door slightly to providing a factual base for planning. It is still up to agencies and to planning groups to determine, on the basis of knowledge about services, what services are feasible, practical, and will be understood and used in a community. Such things as availability of appropriate facilities, money, and qualified leadership, the readiness of the community to use the service, and the degree to which it can be expected that the objectives of the services may be attained, are also extremely important. We did agree, however, that although these factors affect planning, areas of greatest need have the strongest claim on leadership, facilities, and funds available to the community.[2]

Although here we have merely touched on some of the factors

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

which influence planning for decentralized social group work services, it would seem that three elements stand out as essential for sound planning:

1. Decentralized planning implies extension from a central source into geographical areas. The service once established may continue to be administered from the central source or may be set up on a separate administrative structure of its own, related to the central source as a unit or a branch. In the case of some agencies, decentralization means organizing a volunteer structure on a district basis, again constantly limiting the geographical area to be covered by a unit, whether it be a branch or a district organization of volunteers. The frequent terms used are: "outpost"; "branch" or "unit"; "district" association; and "neighborhood" association.

Inherent in the provision of leisure-time services is the concept that services should be planned to meet the changing needs of people. When viewing services from a planning and decentralized point of view, consideration has to be given to needs of geographical areas simultaneously with a view toward the needs of individuals. Therefore, the first element is the need to look at geographical areas themselves from a factual point of view.

2. The second element required, especially in larger cities on a more formal basis or within agencies, is a planning structure through which:

a) Agencies who administer services, both public and private, can participate.

b) Community representation from citizens or other groups can be integrated.

c) New needs can be identified.

d) Definite decisions regarding developments can be made and can hold.

e) Progress toward meeting the needs can be made.

The several activities of the Group Work Council of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland are examples stemming from a planning structure. Chances of new services or new buildings being located in spots where the greatest need exists and of being accepted by the communities, and of agencies supplementing each other

rather than competing, are greater. Most of the agencies in the leisure-time field have been created prior to the creation of planning structure. It has therefore naturally evolved that decentralization of existing agencies is the most economical, qualitative, and expeditious way of adapting services to changing community patterns and of extending services in an orderly fashion. The planning structure generally is part of, or closely related to, the central financing structure.

3. The third element of sound planning involves the absolute necessity in a community of sound practice by well-trained professional workers where the objective is to provide program which reflects the changing needs of the community as well as a program which promotes the educational, religious, ethical, or democratic purposes of the particular agency. This requirement incorporates both sound professional practice, skilled administrative leadership, and strong lay participation.

I believe that planning for decentralized services is essential on two levels: (1) within the agency; and (2) with other agencies in the community at large through a planning group which looks both at facts and at structure. Such planning requires a spirit of cooperation of agencies and community resources; intelligent use of creative judgment and sensitivity to the changes in a community and the possible resources for cooperation with facilities and leadership; and a much more factual body of knowledge than we now have regarding the need and the characteristics of people and communities which describe the need. Professional people can help at every step, but the most urgent need is for a deepening of practice with research as to evaluation of practice as well as research on the needs and general data required regarding the geographical areas.

A Critical Appraisal of Some Aspects of Social Group Work Theory and Practice

by IRVING MILLER

THERE IS MUCH HAPPENING in the field of social group work which gives reason for satisfaction. There has been growth in services; new services have been developed in traditional settings and expanded into new settings. Professional education has advanced and deepened. On the other hand, growth has not diminished some of the complexities and contradictions with which we try to live:

1. Some of us have felt that social group work and social group workers have become too technically oriented. The part of our conception and definition of social group work which has to do with individual social adjustment seems to be greatly emphasized, if not exclusively so, at the expense and to the detriment of the part of the definition which has to do with socially desirable goals. We tend to think in terms of method, process, and technique rather than in terms of goals, content, responsibilities, and needs which have to be met.

2. While we have extended our horizons and field of practice to new fields, with gratifying and professionally reassuring results, we have in some other respects been notably unsuccessful—specifically in our work with teen-agers. I am familiar with many agencies which seem to have made hardly the slightest impact upon the teen-age population in their communities. They stay away. In relation to such considerations as priorities and relativity of needs we attract those teen-agers who need us least. The ones whose needs are most pressing do not seem to recognize what we have to

offer. They are called the "hard to reach." They do not fall into nice, easy, and responsive patterns of groupings. They do not respond to program, to our structure, to content, and to the philosophical orientation which we hold dear and are not of a mind to question. I know agencies in which all the optimal conditions for attracting and serving teen-agers are apparently present. They have good staff, frequently professionally trained, and enabling philosophy, good facilities. They are not, however, serving teen-agers in any degree commensurate with their capacities or willingness.

3. One of the points which we are beginning to stress again is the importance of the sociocultural and, more specifically, the social class dimension as a behavior determinant. It is a much more significant determinant in practice than some of us recognize. It affects, modifies, and conditions the way we ought to work with people, what we ought to expect from people, and the way we plan program. Nevertheless, one gets a persistent feeling that we just talk about it but do not really integrate such knowledge and such awareness in our practice, in our way of viewing people, in our planning of program, in our way of evaluating what we are really observing or experiencing. We have been accused, and are now beginning to accuse ourselves, of having been to psychologistic in our approach to our work; that is, we have tended to explain individual behavior in terms of traits, drives, and causes existing within society. We need to ask ourselves what are some of the effects upon practice and program of the class identification of the membership itself as well as in relation to the class identification of the staff. I think this is especially important in view of the fact that most social group workers come from social classes different from those of the membership they serve.

4. One of the more crucial factors and perhaps least discussed which has a bearing upon our practice is the consequence of certain patterns of financing and sponsorship of social group work services. It challenges in some ways the degree of harmony achievable between what we stand for and believe in and what we are permitted to do. It affects program structure and emphasis in ways which are not always related to membership needs. Whether or

not an agency is financed by public funds or in large part by private boards, or by central financing, or to a significant extent by fees from membership—a growing trend in private agencies —will greatly affect not only policy formation and program, but the real pattern and actual basis of board, staff, and membership interrelationships. Related to this, and also requiring some analysis, is the degree to which the types of agency structure we have developed help or hinder us in relating to our constituency. Unavoidably, perhaps, our agencies are characterized by departmentalization, specialization, carefully worked out patterns of relationships, formal ways of communicating and getting things done. Are these always conducive to achieving the close relationships with people that are crucial to achieving our purposes? Do we tend to lay too great emphasis on form and structure, sometimes forgetting that they are means designed to achieve ends and not ends in themselves?

With respect to the alleged overtechnical orientation of social group work and social group workers, it has been asserted that some of the products of our training leave a few important things to be desired. We think we ought to be getting from generic training a social worker who is committed to, and assumes responsibility for, social action, who has disciplined ways of viewing and solving problems, who is equipped to practice in specific settings, and who has those skills and understandings which enable him to give certain kinds of service effectively and in a socially responsible manner. Instead, some people think we are getting people who are equipped with a mere bag of technical skills and formulations. More than a few social group workers seem to regard themselves primarily as technicians, as specialists, as purveyors of techniques and methods. They are concerned if not intrigued with methods and processes when they should be concerned with social work services and goals. Similar and related comments have been pointedly made about social group workers by agency leadership in a variety of local and national agencies, and they need to be reckoned with:

a) They find among the professionally trained a seeming overconcern with methods and processes rather than concern for content and goals.

b) They find a greater emphasis on supervisory structure and its conduciveness to learning than on the job which needs to be done and the services which need to be given.

c) They find a greater interest in the *how* than in the *why*.

d) They see a gap between what people are trained for and how agencies use them.

e) They think there is a lack of conviction about the role of social group workers in social action.

f) They are concerned with the seeming unwillingness of many social group workers to function in settings other than those which already have a strong social group work structure; in other words, the pioneering component seems to be lacking.

g) They think there is tendency among social group workers to avoid working with certain age groups, notably adults.

Now that all these unhappy things have been said, we ought to consider how true they are and whether or not they are avoidable, or even desirable. If our social goals are becoming attenuated it is not necessarily because of a concern with method and process. Techniques are not necessarily in conflict with social goals, they are not separable from values, but they ought to be subordinate to them. It depends on what our techniques are directed toward. They are supposed to and can bring us closer to goals, make content more meaningful, and demonstrate the validity and workability of our values. Furthermore, it can and has been said that inexperienced social group workers are insufficiently endowed technically and insufficiently sensitive to, and understanding of, basic group processes. They have also been criticized for been unrealistic and idealistic. Is this not a different way of criticizing them for possessing the very qualities which they are criticized for lacking?

A good case can be made for a position which places major emphasis on methods and processes operating within a very broad and generalized democratic framework. Perhaps as professionals we can best operate within a conception of social goals which is broad and generalized but not essentially distinguishable from the social orientations of any other profession. Such an approach makes it possible for us to work as we do in a wide variety of settings and under a wide variety of auspices. This circumscribes

the possibility of imposing upon others a specific selection of social goals and objectives. It is easy to talk about social goals and content, but it remains talk unless we are willing to be very, very specific about what kinds of social goals we believe in and what kinds of social goals and content are consonant with our methods and techniques. Emphasis on the latter avoids the necessity of being specific about the former. It may be safer if not more democratic to leave the setting of social goals to our membership and communities. It would be foolish, for example, to allow the American Medical Association the determining voice in deciding whether or not there should be socialized medicine in this country. The decision on socialized medicine is political and social, not medical, and ought to be made by the people and not by the professionals. We do our business within a social context which circumscribes our social functions and determines our activity. We are much more affected by it than we affect the social context with which we are in interaction.

We deal with many conflicts and contradictions in our society. For example, we are required to operate within a value system which at the same time that it is generous, shows concern and feeling for people who are weak and underprivileged, also shows contempt and rejection for them. Which of us has not felt the mixture of approval and disapproval directed toward us as social workers by the community in which we work?

There is another factor which bears on the question of social goals and whether or not we are too technically oriented. This is related to the process of becoming professionalized. Inherent in the nature of professionalism is the development of technical skills and technical knowledge, preferably unique and distinguishable from other technical knowledge and skills. The technical knowledge you have and its importance are related to your status as a professional. Nobody, much less the board of trustees of a hospital, would question a doctor's role and the relevance of his knowledge and skill to a wide range of medical problems. Nor would the relevance of the lawyer's role in certain matters be questioned. With us it is different. We are involved in something

of a "jurisdictional dispute." Not everybody believes, and this includes other professional disciplines as well, that the human relationships and social problems to which we think our skills and training are most pertinent are really most related to our field. In human relations, everybody is an expert. It is difficult to go back to the good old days when social workers were aggressively involved in social reform and at the same time have a professional orientation. The demands and processes of professionalization seem at points to be in conflict with our social movement origins and tend toward conservatism and caution.

The second area that I shall discuss further is concerned with our limited success in working with teen-agers. It is acknowledged from the outset that the problems of social adjustment that teen-agers face are not always the type that we can do something about. However, one of my impressions from observation of a fairly wide range of agencies is that we tend to be inflexible in agency program and structure in serving teen-agers. We tend to set up the same patterns of organization, the same heavy emphasis and insistence upon small friendship groups, and the same pattern of relationships between them and activity and interest groups, regardless of the social or community setting. Such factors go a long way in determining how teen-agers group themselves, the kinds of groupings they prefer, and what they want from an agency. They sometimes are asked to adapt to a structure which we have become wedded to as an end in itself and have assumed to be valid and equivalent to good social group work practice. We tend to insist, subtly or otherwise, that the teen-agers form friendship groups and sometimes we make that a condition for coming into the agency. There are techniques that are familiar and convenient, but they may not always be appropriate in dealing with teen-agers.

We perhaps need to remind ourselves that friendship groups can represent the beginning as well as the culmination of a process. Some teen-agers are so pressed by social and economic problems that they cannot easily involve themselves in the more intimate kinds of group life upon which we lay such emphasis. Attention

needs to be paid to the possibility that our methods of working with teen-agers have been rather narrow and restricted. Taking this possibility seriously may mean, for example, that we will take a more favorable view of the value of interest activities, large mass activities, lounges, etc. As is the case in the direct leadership of groups, we tend to use our least or less qualified staff in such activities. We ought to use our best staff. Perhaps new groupings will thus be helped to come into being. I wonder, too, if the way in which we are organized, the formal, divisional methods of working with people, the emphasis on technique and structure, do not cause teen-agers to look at us as mere givers of service and not as the warm, accepting friendly people we think we are.

We have always assumed that all groups require our leadership and thus we have a fixed pattern of agency-imposed leadership in all teen-age clubs. I think that many teen-age groups do not come to agencies because they do not want our leadership on our terms. Some of them are apt to feel constricted and limited, regardless of how sincere, democratic, and accepting our leadership may be. I would take chances and try different techniques. It would be good to know the extent to which the large turnover in agency staff impedes our capacity to work with teen-agers. If they need, as we have often said, a warm, accepting relationship with adults characterized by friendship and understanding, how easily can this be achieved if they see us coming and going on each other's heels? It is difficult for people to feel that you care for them and are interested in them and expect them to feel friendship and warmth when you have just followed another worker in the same job. On such occasions teen-agers want to know, and often ask, whether something is wrong with them or with the agency.

How much of our difficulties with teen-agers is related to the fact that we judge and evaluate their behavior from the standpoint of our own middle-class identifications and life experiences? What we may call "aggression" and want to do something about, may have a different meaning to the teen-agers who are being aggressive. What is honest and not honest, what is moral and immoral, is modified by such factors as class and social position. I think teen-agers sense and respond to the relative difference in class position

between themselves and the staff member. Perhaps they have reason not to be sure that we are really very accepting of them. Difference in class position or a failure to understand its meanings can be a barrier to helping, unless we can understand, identify, have knowledge of, and accept behavior as it is related to such differences.

In a sense, the class factor operates in intake. I suspect that there are few, if any, middle-class agencies, however professionalized they may be, that are able to conduct a so-called "diagnostic" intake and ask the personal questions which are assumed to be related to good practice and the purpose of the agency. Since the members pay for service, we cannot pry into details of their life, notwithstanding the purity of our motives. In the lower-class agency it is being and can be done. People have become accustomed to it, and, moreover, are not paying for services to the same extent as are people in other settings.

One of the reasons we tend to be successful in middle-class settings and why so many social group workers gravitate toward them is that our point of view, our values, and the standards we go by are congenial with middle-class standards. It is easier for a staff member to work with people who are more like her. Their behavior can be handled and understood. They do not disconcert her with the type of aggressive and deviant behavior characteristic of people of other social and economic groups.

With respect to patterns of financing and of sponsorship there are one or two, among many aspects of each, which I shall discuss. First, I must admit to some biases I have and some assumptions which I make. As our services become increasingly recognized as meeting basic and widespread human needs worthy of broad community support and participation, it becomes too risky to leave the meeting of such needs to the vagaries, vicissitudes, and instabilities of private financing. The soundest long-range way of meeting community-wide needs for leisure-time services is through tax-supported programs. We should not need to depend for such services on voluntary resources, thus putting in the hands of those more fortunately placed private citizens the power to, in effect, give or withhold services. A basic floor of good public services can help

create a situation in which private agencies can serve special and unique purposes for which public support cannot be given either because of the nature of the private service or because the public agency is ready to support such services.

Increasing amounts of public funds are used to support in varying degrees private programs. While there is much good in this and much which can be justified on grounds of efficiency and economy, it does, however, raise other questions. Public funds have kept alive many private agencies which otherwise would long ago have died. The practice has tended to prevent the fuller development of public programs. Private agencies have created the impression that they are doing more than they actually are, that they can do it better and cheaper than public agencies, and that it is best for public monies to be turned over to them for the sake of economy, efficiency, and avoidance of duplication. This type of financing is no doubt cheaper for the big taxpayer, who is frequently a member of the private agency board, but it is not necessarily better for the people who need services. There can also be a question of the propriety of public funds being used under private auspices which are basically accountable only to themselves and not to the taxpayers and the voters. I suspect that in the long run publicly supported programs are more responsive and more susceptible to public pressure for change and expansion than are private agencies.

Finally, support of sectarian agencies by public funds is a special and more complicated case in point. Despite the asserted secularity and nonsectarian nature of sectarian programs it is not easy to separate the sectarian from the religious, and thus I think public support for sectarian programs ultimately involves the question of separation of Church and State.

There has been a growing reliance in recent years upon fees for the financing of private agency services. This is true for social group work agencies as well as, particularly, for camping services. Much of dubious validity has been written about the therapeutic values of fee charging and of how it is really helpful to people. There is much that can be said to justify extensive fee charging, if not on the basis of social attitudes and social realities, then at

least on the basis of agency financial needs and budgetary realities. Much can also be said from the standpoint of social values for the justice of expecting people to pay for services according to their ability. Each situation separately makes sense, but questions can be raised about fee charging in general. The more extensive the practice the greater is the tendency to place social services under the domination of considerations of the market place. When an agency relies heavily on income from program activities it is difficult to avoid placing emphasis on programs which produce income as against those programs which do not produce income, however valuable the latter may be, in other respects. The capacity of a program to produce income cannot safely be used as a criterion of its value to the agency's membership. Ability-to-pay formulas, particularly in camping, do not always work out as they were intended. Services tend to be given on an ability-to-pay basis in a very literal sense and not on that of need.

When an agency relies on income from fees, such income is usually budgeted, and thus the number of people who can be given free services or services at the lower levels of the ability-to-pay scale becomes limited by budgetary requirements. Furthermore, and I have seen this in the East, the agencies which charge fees and can do so because of their middle-class constituencies exert pressure on the agencies serving lower income groups to raise their own fees. Central financing bodies using the experience of some of their agencies have been know to exert pressure on other member agencies to raise fees to what they think the traffic can bear. The consequence of varying capacities to raise money from fees becomes ultimately reflected in superior or inferior agency programs and in poor and rich, or perhaps poor and less poor, agencies. Furthermore, despite our intentions with respect to the application of ability-to-pay formulas, I suspect that people who cannot afford to pay or who can pay very little shy away from agencies which charge fees. In short, I think that the extension of fee charging has tended to price poorer people out of services and put an unfavorable burden on agencies which do not have this source of income appreciably available to them.

Finally, and I quote Professor Eveline M. Burns, of the New York School of Social Work:

Whether or not an agency accepting substantial fees can, in the long run, claim properly to be regarded as a social welfare agency, and whether the service rendered then becomes a type which might more appropriately be rendered by suppliers who do not solicit support from the public on the grounds that they are engaged in essentially charitable enterprises, are questions which call for further exploration.[1]

No discussion of financing or sponsorship ought to exclude some mention of the role of sectarian agencies. To be sure, there is little if anything in the philosophy and values of sectarian agencies which is the conflict with democratic values in general or with social group work values in particular. Sectarian agencies continue to make important contributions to practice and theory. They are major employers of social group workers and play an important role in the development of the field. They are an expression of the democratic right of all kinds of groups and segments in the community to go into business for themselves and to organize voluntarily and freely to provide services for themselves as they see fit. It is significant, however, that in recent years sectarianism has become more self-conscious and more intensified. That this has happened during a postwar period characterized by restrictions on freedom, reaction, fear, and pressure toward conformity is not an accident. Sectarianism has tended, on behalf of the highest human values, to separate people from each other, to intensify differences, and to reduce interaction and communication between people. It has developed a very special vested interest and a professional bureaucracy which can best maintain its prestige and status and rationalize its position by stressing the uniqueness of the agency function and maintaining differences.

Despite the avowed goal of some of these agencies to help their membership through their program to move out in maturity and comfort into the broader community, this does not happen very often, if at all, in practice. The institutional interests of the agency would be too threatened were this to occur. The implications for

[1] Eveline M. Burns, "The Financing of Social Welfare," in Cora Kasius, ed., *New Directions in Social Work* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 147.

everyday practice and the little dilemmas and conflicts which arise easily suggest themselves. It has been perhaps expressed most pointedly by Grace Coyle who in a similar context said:

If agency objectives appear only on the level of the avowed and articulated purpose of the group, but there is evidence that the more potent ties are actually other than or even contradictory to the agencies' values, it is well to reconsider the methods being used. One is tempted to wonder how many small boys learned effective lessons in deceit and hypocrisy when their only way of securing a coveted trip to camp required them first to join the church and then the church choir. Moral values sugar-coated with recreation are liable to produce spiritual indigestion.[2]

There is obviously much more to be said about this and about every other question I have raised. Each deserves fuller and more careful treatment. I hope some of the answers can be found.

[2] Grace Longwell Coyle, *Group Work with American Youth* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 69.

Social Group Work in Community Programs for the Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency

by EVELIO GRILLO

In their recent work *The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs*,[1] Witmer and Tufts have analyzed, differentiated, and attempted to evaluate the major projects which have been dedicated to the specific goal of affecting the incidence of delinquency in particular localities. They make it clear that when one refers to community programs for the treatment and prevention of delinquency a wide variety of programs with different emphases must be included.

One such approach seems to foster the impression, current in some social group work circles, that in order to provide effective service to delinquents the withdrawal of the social group worker from open association with authoritative agencies or other official agencies in the community is a necessary prerequisite. This apparently has taken the form of intentional avoidance by the social group worker of identification with authoritative agencies or with agencies toward which, to paraphrase one report, the delinquents were hostile.[2]

If indeed such an approach is recommended, some of the implications for the provision of a socially integrative service to neighborhoods and communities manifesting symptoms of social

[1] Helen Witmer and Edith Tufts, *The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, 1955).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

disintegration, of which a high delinquency rate is one, are interesting. We question such an approach on the basis of the experience we are reporting.

The Oakland Recreation Department conducted the work herein discussed. This was not a "community" program in the sense that community programs are conceived and planned on the level of the interagency organization and carried out either by a selected agency or a combination of agencies. In employing the designation "community" we are simply distinguishing between those programs which are carried out in a residential setting and those which are carried out in the community.

Our point of vantage was that of the social group worker in any facility the clientele of which includes high proportions of delinquents and predelinquents. The work was not conceived as a "project" to curb delinquency, but merely to provide recreational service where the need for such was obvious but difficult to fill. Nor was a predetermined method of approach outlined with the purpose of testing its effectiveness. The meager records kept were not designed to provide material for a formal study.

The neighborhood was an extremely disorganized one, populated largely by newcomer Negro and Mexican families. It was characterized by many of the factors we associate with lower social class transitional neighborhoods: extreme transiency; very poor housing; high tuberculosis and venereal disease rates; high delinquency rate; and so forth.

The ratio of delinquents to nondelinquents was high. In one club of fifteen boys only two had never been on probation. In a coed dance group of thirty-five registered members, twenty-eight either were or had been under some kind of supervision from the probation department. Whether they were officially classified as delinquent or not, however, the highest single proportion of children belonged in the aggressive acting-out category.

In programming we did many of the things that are common practice in any social group work agency, with some possibility that our limits were less stringent than some facilities can afford to set. Through our formal club meetings and informal discussions we attempted to maximize decision-making and to offer program

which was geared to the interests and the level of social skills of our clientele.

We were free to do some additional things, however. We could move extensively throughout the neighborhood we were serving. We could meet and spend time with children in some settings more informal than the center where they might congregate. If things were slow at the center we were not fixed there awaiting the arrival of clientele who might never materialize. We could visit the local ice cream parlor or candy store, or walk through the neighborhood and join for as long as we wished a group congregating on a corner or around an automobile. No further detailing of the direct-service-to-clients aspects of the program is attempted here since this kind of material is well covered in the literature and it is not the focus of this presentation. For similar reasons we do not report here upon the work with some of the parents of the children we served.

It is upon another aspect of the program that we wish to dwell. For it is in this particular area that social group work skills and orientations may be found to be especially applicable in the formulation of a service specifically designed to focus the socially integrative forces in a neighborhood upon acting-out delinquent and predelinquent children, thereby providing, perhaps, an impact which may be at least minimally rehabilitative or preventive.

I refer here to the promotion of a team feeling and a team approach among workers directly involved in providing services of all types to the same clientele the social group worker has involved in his program. These included, in the area under consideration, public health nurses, public assistance workers, school guidance workers, the principal of the school, teachers, the school nurse, recreation directors, social group workers from decentralized program agencies such as the Boy Scouts, the priests from the neighboring church, probation officers, and both patrolmen and members of the juvenile detail of the Police Department. We shall focus here on the working out of a team relationship with the police and contrast it with that documented in reports which describe a pattern which seems to imply avoidance of visible association with the police.

In describing the process by which we attempted to promote a group feeling and, therefore, to affect the social climate of the neighborhood a clear distinction will be made between these processes and the formal opportunities which agencies traditionally establish to provide for communication, coordination, and joint policy formulation. Drawing upon our own awarenesses regarding the extent and importance of the communication accomplished in informal situations, we established an informal monthly gathering for the "South of Seventh Street Workers."

The simplicity of this arrangement makes it almost embarrassing to report upon, but as we continue to review the experience we are convinced that out of this opportunity flowed much of what may have been noteworthy in the work. Our gathering was held monthly at the lunch hour. Everyone brought his lunch, and we chipped in for coffee. Our rules were simple and few: no committees, no studies, no projects, no chairman (although the principal of the school acted as convener). Occasionally there was a brief program, as when we invited the research specialist from the Council of Social Agencies to describe our particular census tract. It was clearly interpreted that we were a "do-nothing" group.

The assumption was that in so far as the agencies were or could be involved in a joint intensive program on one or another project, this was a matter properly in the realm of administration. But no matter what the agency structure was, the workers involved in providing the direct services could profit from an opportunity to consult and confer informally with each other on a continuing and planned basis. Thus we could find out what each of us was doing or hoping to do. We could communicate and receive support and we could develop further the sense that the endeavor of providing effective services, particularly in a neighborhood so disorganized, was perforce an interdependent one. Each of us could talk about what was on his mind, either to the group or to individuals. We were not bound by formal structure or by delineated program.

Some of the tangible accomplishments of this process were:

1. Rapid introduction of newly assigned workers to a group of workers with whom liaison had to be established and maintained

2. Quick communication of realignment of territory or shift in emphasis by particular agencies

3. Easy division of responsibilities for programs or problems in which several agencies shared and regarding which extensive clearance may have been required (the distribution of camperships is a case in point)

4. Clearing of details (some workers made it a practice to "save up" details, and they could be observed hopping from one fellow worker to another transacting quickly business which might have taken more time and effort without this opportunity).

The intangible accomplishments of this opportunity are difficult to assess. We suggest merely that the development of a group consciousness was promoted and that the facilitation of teamwork relationships was accomplished.

The work of promoting a neighborhood teamworkers' approach proceeded throughout the daily and weekly contacts of the center's personnel with workers from other agencies. This, it should be made clear, was a reciprocal process in many instances.

Several instances in which particularly effective team relationships were established come to mind; because of our particular focus in this presentation, we choose relationships with the police.

Through consultation with the captain of police a routine was established whereby patrolmen assigned to the area were encouraged to drop in at the center. We arranged for this at a very early stage in the work before we were secure in the acceptance we eventually developed among the children. We had some question about what the effect would be. We hoped that it would not be threatening and disruptive, but rather that this informal dropping in might develop an opportunity for some reorientation of the children to the police and, perhaps, for some reorientation of the police to the children.

We expected and observed a ripple of apprehension during the first two or three visits. The tradition became well established, however, and some of its results impressed us as being positive. The squad car would park in front of the center, young children would scamper up to it to have their curiosity satisfied about the gadgets, the sirens, and the lights. It was regular practice for the

older boys and the patrolmen to talk to each other informally for a considerable length of time, both elements apparently accepting the fact that subsequent contacts might occur under less pleasant circumstances.

Conferences were also held with the lieutenant in command of the juvenile detail. He was invited to participate in one formal interagency committee that our agency requested the Council of Social Agencies to establish, and on occasion some of his men participated in our monthly "South of Seventh Street" gathering.

Including the police in a visible way as members of the neighborhood team paid rich dividends. Several informal cooperative arrangements were worked out, and the children were aware of these. The policemen would be sure to drop in at large dances if notified, but not to supervise, for they never stayed long. At the end of large dances the squad car would be found circulating slowly and quietly throughout the neighborhood, thus encouraging compliance with curfew regulations and inhibiting the boisterousness which can lead to more destructive behavior. Serious trouble was averted on two occasions by the prearranged simple expedient of calling the Police Department and asking for a squad car to park in front of the center in case we needed the help of the police, and then telling the children that this was what we had done.

The other side of the coin should also be examined. One Saturday two officers from the juvenile detail came to the center. They informed me that a girl living across the street was a runaway from another state. They knew she had been there for some time and they intended to pick her up. They knew that she frequented the center, so the lieutenant suggested that they check with me before going over to get her. I asked how they thought I could be helpful. One of the men explained that they did not see the need for haste. It was not a great risk to wait a day or two, since there were not many places she could go. She had been living locally with an aunt who was known to them also, and they could understand why she might want to run away, but more acceptable living arrangements would have to be made. She would probably be returned to her home state. They thought that if someone the girl knew and trusted would talk with her, the experience might be less frighten-

ing to her. I asked if they would like me to try this. They replied
that they did and then suggested that they would return on Monday to pick her up.

I did talk with the girl at length. When the officers returned at
a prearranged time she was ready, with her belongings neatly
packed. The officers very sensitively explained their purpose and
the reasons for it, waited for the girl to have a brief cry, and then
took her away.

Evaluating this particular experience has been difficult for me.
There are so many facets regarding which I am unclear as to what
the appropriate role of the social group worker should have been.
My focus here is therefore on the impact of the experience of
arrest upon the child, and on how, if the negative components of
the experience were indeed attenuated, such an eventuality flowed
out of teamwork established with police over a period of time.

For another illustration we select a project which grew out of
the planning of one of our groups of delinquents which involved
the children in an intricate series of other than problem-centered
contacts with the police, and which culminated in an extensive
public collaborative neighborhood effort on the part of the
Recreation Department, the church, the Probation Department,
and the Police Department.

The group decided to sponsor a boxing show to raise funds for
the center's Christmas celebration for younger children. In their
planning they very soon became aware that they would need a lot
of help. Omitting the details, these were some of the results:

1. The boys got in touch with the priest and arranged for use
of the social hall and the boxing ring and equipment.

2. The priest suggested that a police officer friend of his could
help with securing posters and printing tickets. The boys followed
through on this, making an appointment, visiting the officer at
City Hall, and receiving the help asked.

3. At my suggestion, they also visited the captain of police and
invited him to be the timekeeper.

4. The boys also asked two probation officers to be judges.

The club group from the center presented a large public program employing the facilities of the church and involving in the

process personnel from the Probation Department and from the Police Department. We assessed this as valuable in a symbolic sense and we considered it a process through which the climate of the immediate neighborhood was temporarily, at least, affected positively.

Our relationships with the police, then, were open and obviously cordial and cooperative. We were working with the police, not in spite of them. We were not embarrassed by the possibility that at some point we might ask them to help control a situation. We and they understood that there were many opportunities when the requirements of each of our respective assignments required our collaboration. We saw through the verbalized negativism to police officers some relief on the part of the children, particularly at large dances, some relief that this condition for orderliness within which fun could be provided was met and that external help in insuring controls was made available by the relationship of the police to the center.

Because we did not operate as informers we were not defensive, and we did not feel identified by the children as informers. Because we perceived this relationship with the police as beneficial we now wonder about those projects in which some apparent dissociation from the police is indicated as a necessary condition for establishing rapport with delinquent groups. Our question is whether or not this is a seductive process which plays directly into that part of the delinquent's symptoms which lie in the area of authority conflicts. Are we saying to the delinquent, "In order to help we will at first join you in your separation from society"? Is it not possible that rapport can be established from the point of vantage of someone officially connected with society and, if so, may this not be more conclusive in communicating that society does in effect care?

We have attempted to establish the importance of an open and close association on the part of the social group worker with authoritative agencies in a neighborhood wherein delinquency is one of the major problems to which social agencies address themselves. We have suggested one means by which such close associations can be facilitated. The importance of such an approach

may become clear when we recognize that delinquency represents, among other things, a psychological separation from society manifested by behavior consistently unacceptable to society, by rejection of its service institutions, and by noninvolvement in many of the processes by which society formally organizes itself.

In the kind of neighborhood we have described many factors are operative which if they do not cause, certainly enhance the separating process. At the family level we have a large incidence of breakdown as well as serious conflict in patterns and values between youth and parents. At the subcultural level we find many ethnic and socioeconomic class groupings which exist in contiguity, but not in communication or association with each other. At the broader community level we have an entire segment of a metropolitan area which is experienced by its residents as negatively different from the rest of the city. From almost any point of view it is possible to observe disintegrative forces operating to reinforce the separation process.

We have suggested that at the point wherein services are provided in such neighborhoods consideration of social structure and social organization is basic if services are to approach their maximum potential in effectiveness. We have recognized, further, that the agencies themselves are part of the social structure and social organization and that they manifest themselves in neighborhoods primarily through the workers who provide the direct services.

We now suggest that beyond considerations of efficiency, coordination, avoidance of duplication, assessment of need, and so on, a clearly identifiable team approach among these workers may be of greater importance because of what this symbolizes and of what this may achieve as an integrating force in a disintegrating neighborhood. Perhaps one of the major components of the social group worker's assignment in a high delinquency area, therefore, is that of working toward achievement of this integrated team among the workers, including those from the authoritative agencies.

Camping as a Tool in Social Welfare

by HOWARD G. GIBBS

IN SOCIAL WELFARE CIRCLES, camping and greenery are not synonymous.

Camping is not just an exposure to foliage as an escape from the hot pavements; camping is purposeful relaxation and rest, fun with a future, excitement and enjoyment with the aim of helping individuals and groups obtain the highest possible level of well-being.

Camping is not just therapy for the less-advantaged; camping is for the well and the sick, for the untroubled as well as the troubled.

Camping is not a substitute for city program; camping is a twenty-four-hour practice of the social worker's skills in a supplementary, unique, cohesive camper- and group-centered community.

Camping is not just for children; camping is for "children of all ages."

Camping's roots are not in the soil of any one discipline; camping's genesis includes recreation, education, and social work.

For the social worker, therefore, camping is not a separate field of endeavor; camping is the practice of social welfare work moved into an outdoor setting. The broad aims should be the same; the methods consistent; the setting and kinds of activity are the primary differences.

Camping for those who have lived it conjures many vivid impressions and memories—the mysteries of nature; the excitement of adventures; the closeness to God; the friendships; the freedom to create, to relax, to choose, to explore. In short, camping is a place of opportunity for achievement of well-being.

Camping and social work, as partners in human welfare, have mutual concerns and challenges and responsibilities. Camping [1] is not an isolated phenomenon in social work; it is increasingly serving a wider clientele and thus creating new challenges.

Historically, of course, in this country the roots of camping lie in the story of the American Indian who had to camp 365 days a year in order to survive. Early Americans of the Daniel Boone era pioneered in outdoor living; the shift from an almost completely rural population to today's urban life for two thirds of our population brought on a demand for some way to get a taste of outdoor life—hence the development of camping, particularly on an organized basis. Beginning as early as 1861, camping gradually gained momentum, often spurred on by such community agencies as the "Y" 's, the Scouts, settlements, boys' clubs, and the Camp Fire Girls. These agencies, plus the private camp movement, are still leaders in camping and have been joined by many others, particularly the churches.

Today there are 12,000 organized camps, of which 8,500 are sponsored by community organizations. These are valued at $350 million. Camping is being provided primarily for school-age children—96 percent of campers are in that grouping; boys far outnumber the girls; teen-agers are not served in any way near the proportion to the population as are the nine- to fourteen-year-olds; ability to pay rather than need sometimes determines who goes to camp; nonchest private agencies appear to be serving minority groups more in proportion to their total camping constituency than chest agencies; there are fewer camping services for Negro than for all other racial groups in many communities.

The days of pioneering, experimentation, and expansion in camping are still very much with us. Here are some evidences of the "current look" in today's camping:

1. There is an ever increasing awareness of the potentiality inherent in a sustained, guided group experience. Because camp provides a concentrated group exposure, it can be a particularly

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[1] It should be recognized that this discussion concerns nonprofit camps under the sponsorship of a social work agency.

potent force in helping people grow in character, attitudes, behavior, and self-discipline. This is especially true in camping sponsored by social work because such group experience is tied in with the total agency program.

2. An emphasis on the impact of a trained and well-supervised staff as it affects each individual camper has resulted in an increasing stress on professionally trained people, especially in supervisory positions.

3. An awareness of the role of the camp as an integral part of the year-round program in an agency rather than as a separate entity is another evidence of the current look. This is reflected in more stabilized year-round organization and staff.

4. There is stress upon standard-setting both by individual agencies and, collectively, under the aegis of national coordinating bodies. This will undoubtedly result in greater recognition of the fact that camping is not confined within a narrow definition of recreation, but that camping uses recreational opportunities to provide campers with a social work experience. This has implications in standard-setting by social work and in deciding whether or not the new National Association of Social Workers should concern itself with the ethics and practices of camping.

5. There is a continuing appraisal of what constitutes good camping program. This is resulting in smaller camp units in contrast to mass camping; an increasing emphasis on the growth and development of the individual camper which necessitates the smaller ratio between counselor and camper; the increasing research about camp groupings; the more flexible and balanced program geared to meeting everyday needs; the increasing concern that camp be not merely the transplanting of city life into a country setting, as evidenced by the greatly expanded emphasis on outdoor living, conservation, and camp craft; the change in physical facilities to conform to program emphasis; the stress on cooperation instead of competition, with competition to improve rather than to prove.

6. There is a democratization of camping. This is reflected not just in obvious expansion of the use of mechanisms such as camp councils, but in the creation of a climate for the entire camp struc-

ture where provision of opportunities for participation in the planning of camp is a cooperative project of administration, staff, and campers; where opportunity to make choices and decisions is a part of the process of putting the stress on what a camper learns to do himself, with staff in the role of an enabler.

7. The refinement of existing camping programs and expansion into new areas of service is perhaps most characteristic of camping's current look. These include:

a) Year-round camping. Agencies recognize the value of including a full-time staff person who can work all year. The tremendous capital investment in camps is justified if the camp is utilized during weekends and school holiday periods in addition to the usual summer vacation time.

b) School camping. Educators are aware of the educational potential in camps, particularly where today's schooling has become too hurried, too verbal, and too split-sessioned. The "learn by doing," the laboratory experiences, are given true reality in a camp setting. Several states, notably Michigan, New York, and Virginia, have enacted legislation allowing school districts to use public funds for school camps. In some communities, social agencies are making their camp sites and staff knowledge available.

c) Camping for the exceptional. As a matter of principle, camping for the handicapped is not organized as a completely separate endeavor unless the handicap is too great to permit integration into a regular camp program. Many camps are expanding opportunities for such integration, tailored to individual needs, interests, and capacities.

d) Family camping. Aside from the informal camping done by thousands upon thousands of families, using local and national parks and forests, attention is being given by agencies to weekend as well as regular summer camping by family groupings. In these days of concern over the pressures which work against families doing things together, family camps deserve attention.

e) Golden age camping. The realization that by 1980 there will be 26 million of our citizens over the age of sixty-five, as contrasted to the 12 million today, is giving impetus to camps for the golden agers. This group, with no limit on the time available for camping,

is gradually getting started in existing camps. Camp sites are now being built specifically for this age group.

The key to camping as a partner in social welfare will depend upon reaching a common understanding and acceptance of the distinctive worth and contribution each makes to a common cause. In far too many social agencies we make camping a struggle for acceptance and reputability. Some community chests still do not include camping as a legitimate part of a total agency budget allotment. The paucity of discussion on camping at the National Conference of Social Work is a reflection of the "poor relation" attitude.

As we look forward, here are some broader areas in which we all have some responsibility as social workers concerned with the total services for people in our communities:

1. *Expansion.* Camping's advocates, by conviction, dedication, and experience, believe that camping needs to be greatly expanded to include greater numbers and a wider age range. The potentiality is great; even though 96 percent of the campers are children, only 12 percent of our children receive an organized camping experience. There needs to be much examination of fees charged; in some communities it is the wealthy who are served through private camps and the lower income group which is served by the agency. The middle-income group is lost in between. On the other hand, some studies indicate much pressure on agencies to raise fees, so that there is the danger that ability to pay rather than interest or need will become the criterion for determining who goes to an agency camp. This could lead to serving the middle income group at the expense of those with substandard resources.

As social workers, concerned with the total community, do we not need to examine the camping opportunities within each of our cities and towns? There may well be opportunities for greater use of public lands. We need to make our voices heard in urging the opening up of such lands for agency as well as for unorganized camping. We need to provide support for camping on the same basis as we solicit agency support.

2. *Specialized service.* We of course recognize that camping is an expensive service, but its cost should be measured by its value.

For example, as we become more and more concerned about substituting juvenile decency for juvenile delinquency in this country, we may recognize that camping is one of the positive forces for good. If we want to be coldly practical about it, it seems much more saving of money, not to mention human resources, in towns with a delinquency problem, to expend money for such things as camping than to build more and bigger institutions for correction. The expense of exposing a child to camp's influence for a summer period, and following it up with an agency social group work experience, or a casework service, is still nothing compared to the thousands of dollars a year it costs to put a child away. If we believe in something we ought to put it in the budgets of our agencies and we ought to fight for it in our communities. There is money available in city after city to build tremendous monuments to the war dead. Is it not possible that if we believe in something like camping we can promote the idea of camping as a living memorial?

To be specific, it seems reasonable and practical to suggest a combination of school and camp experience for the homeless, the children from broken homes, and those children who need to be removed from an environment, oftentimes through causes not remotely related to their own actions. I am not talking about the adjudged delinquent. There is a broad group of potential and borderline delinquents who, because of current limitations and practices, are too often stigmatized by being put in punitive institutions.

These are children and teen-agers in need of help. We might well benefit from the bold experiments of the Civilian Conservation Corps of depression days and set up camp schools in the open country where nature, education, work, and group living might well be the tools of the educator and the social worker in restoring many children to a wholesome and useful life.

Until such time as there is support for such a project on a nationwide scale, social work can take the initiative in establishing demonstration pilot projects. Social work has a rich history of attacking a problem by demonstrating a solution. A beginning

needs to be made, and we have a responsibility which cannot be ignored.

3. *Serving teen-agers.* Teen-agers are becoming the great un- (49) wanted and hence the great unserved in far too many agencies. Youth-serving organizations are having much difficulty attracting, keeping, and meeting the needs of teen-agers. Social work needs to examine its place in the "rock 'n roll" world of the teen-ager.

Granted, the actions of the teen-ager are filled with seeming contradictions. He is lethargic and a day dreamer, yet boundless in his energy in an endeavor he likes; he is often irresponsible, yet capable of assuming great responsibility; he is the personification of independence, yet he will do almost anything to be "one of the group"; he sometimes appears to be insensitive to the finer things in life, yet he is oftentimes a wonderful idealist. He is assertive, critical, questioning; he makes mistakes; and yet, above every-thing else, he takes himself seriously. In short, he is making noises like an adult!

In our youth-serving organizations, social workers are taking the easy road all too often when we consciously or unconsciously limit ourselves to the younger children who may be easier to work with. We simply are not reaching the teen-age group and yet we should and could.

Camping is one logical place to provide experiences geared to the needs and interests of this age group. We might think more of teen-age camping as an opportunity for work experiences, and I do not mean make-believe work, or mere exercise, or exploitation where teen-agers are used as crutches to support inadequate staff. We might examine our junior counselor and counselor in-training possibilities. We might look at more adventuresome outpost and trip camping.

The teen-agers have had their fill of what we normally offer to the youngsters; if we accept honestly our responsibility with these young people on the threshold of adulthood, we shall have to experiment and expand camp and agency programs. There is ample evidence that camping can and does appeal to this group. To name but a few requisites, however, such programs must be related spe-

cifically to needs and interests; must recognize that work programs should produce something tangible to which the teen-ager can point with pride; must provide opportunities for relating to adults who can be helpful with the perplexing problems of girls, the draft, jobs, parents, and peers.

4. *Recruitment.* Camping is a potent recruitment source for the field of social work, not just for social group work but also for casework. Admission records of schools of social work indicate that a very high proportion of accepted applicants received their first exposure to social work through a summer camp experience. In these days of tremendous concern about recruitment to the profession we need to explore and exploit this possibility further.

5. *Training.* Camping is a potential training resource for the profession of social work. It is interesting to note the expanded number of field work training experiences in camps, but so far this has been usually limited to the training of social group workers. Is it not possible that social work education's attempts to give a broader experience to potential caseworkers might very well include a supervised summer social group work placement in camp?

6. *Intergroup relations.* In this country great efforts go into fostering better understanding and relations between different groups; just the reverse is also true, particularly in the area of sectarian services. The trend today seems to be toward narrowness, more limited intergroup opportunities, more sectarianism. Camps need to find ways (even within these limitations which are essentially related to sponsorship) for the wider experiences necessary in a democratic society. Social work in a democracy has a basic philosophy of helping people learn to live together; the trend toward segmentation works against this philosophy. Such agencies, with clientele limited to one race or one nationality or one religion, might well consider cooperative interagency camps. Such experiences have the advantage of combining a new experience in intergroup relations in a setting where partial security is provided by staff and friends from the year-round agency program.

Agency camping, if it is a part of the total social welfare services, needs to be consistent with the level of practice that exists in the agency itself. There is no place for a double standard in social

work. We cannot have two sets of standards—one for the city and one for the country:

1. This means that we cannot provide for mature, trained professional personnel in the city and make do in camp with adolescents of all ages on the staff who really ought to be having a guided experience themselves.

2. This means that we cannot staff our agencies with professionals with broad training coupled with maturity and warmness for people and concentrate in camps on specialists with much knowledge about a little segment of camp life.

3. This means that we cannot have professional intake for the city program and mere registration for the camp. No social-work-focused camp can really function without the selected background information which bona fide intake provides. Casework agencies might well help social group work agencies in this intake procedure.

4. This means that the caseworker cannot carefully consider his referrals in the city and yet take any available opening when he sends a client to camp.

5. This means that we cannot have careful attention to groupings in the city agency and use arbitrary or alphabetical or age assignment in the camp.

6. This means that we cannot have a person-centered program in the city and an activity-centered one in camp; it means also that we cannot go to great expense to get people out of doors to do exactly the same thing that the city agency program provides.

7. This means that the social group worker cannot be concerned about the need for qualitative group records in the city and put up with a quantitative check list in camp; that the caseworker cannot share information with the city agency and provide only the barest fact sheet for camp.

8. This means that the youth-serving organization cannot talk about respect for individual worth and human dignity in the agency and yet make camp an unknown quantity, a hidden enterprise to which parents blindly entrust their children without truly being involved in the preparation and follow-up that are a parental right and responsibility.

9. This means that we cannot talk about being a helping pro-

fession in the city and restrict our camp program entirely to the so-called "well-adjusted." This does not mean willy-nilly acceptance of any and all; it does mean the opening of our doors to many more of the "exceptional."

10. This means that we cannot use need and interest as the basis for service in the city and use ability to pay as a primary criterion for camp experience.

11. This means that the social worker cannot talk about total community planning and ignore camping as a part of that planning.

Camping's concern is with the individual, as in casework; its setting is social group work; its use of the principles of community organization is characteristic. In camping we really can have generic social work at its best.

Implications of the Present Scene for Social Group Work Practice

by *NATHAN E. COHEN*

To ANALYZE IN THE MOST MEANINGFUL WAY the impli-
cations of the present scene for social group work practice, we must
factor out those aspects of the social climate which have a direct
bearing on social group work as a field, as a body of knowledge,
and as a point of view. What is there in the present scene which
is having an impact on social group work as a field? Among others
I would list the new needs growing out of demographic and tech-
nological changes; the increase of mental health problems, includ-
ing juvenile delinquency; the intensified interest in intergroup
relations growing out of the Supreme Court decision on desegre-
gation; and the groping for a more meaningful philosophy of life.

Demographic changes show a marked increase at both ends of
the population curve and an increase in the average size of family.
As a result, there is a growing need for expanded services for the
very young and the very old in many areas, including leisure-
time activities. Another significant demographic factor is the
mobility of the population. The shift from large metropolitan
areas to suburbia is marked. The moving population in the metro-
politan areas is being replaced by a lower economic group, resulting
in blighted and slum areas with a need for increased social services.
Furthermore, the racial and religious composition of communities
is being changed by these shifts, often bringing with them prob-
lems of intergroup tensions.

Along with marked demographic changes we are experiencing
a technological revolution referred to frequently as "automation."
America is continuing to increase its productive capacity, and

the machine is continuing to replace the human. The mass production methods first introduced in the automobile industry continue to set new horizons for the productive capacity of the nation. Man is more and more able to produce more in a shorter period of time but as yet does not have a greater guarantee of his share of the increased productivity. If anything, the increased productivity without a planning concept for its consumption makes his economic position more hazardous, his insecurities greater, and his increased leisure time a threat rather than a blessing.

Both the demographic and the technological changes are affecting social group work services. Day care programs and services for the aged are emerging but are far from adequate to meet the growing needs. Population shifts have brought with them a maldistribution of services reflected both in the lag in the development of programs in the suburbs and the wrong locations of the building-centered programs in the metropolitan area. Hardest hit are the private agencies under sectarian sponsorship. They are in conflict as to whether to stay in the community and serve the new population or to follow their groups into new areas. The technological changes are bringing more leisure time, but most of the free time is going into commercial recreation of a noncreative nature.

The technological changes have an even greater impact because of the lag of our political and social institutions behind the revolutionary changes in the economic ones. Uncertainty, doubt, confusion, and fear are the order of the day, intensified by an ever threatening international situation. The insecurities resulting from a structureless, and ofttimes contradictory climate add to the mental health problems of the nation. The reactionary political climate which is accompanying this period of change has brought an attack on our humanistic philosophy which has been the base of our more modern approach in family life, education, and social welfare. Parents, educators, and social workers are being bombarded to give up the methods of the past several decades and return to the more authoritarian methods of the earlier past. Youth, bombarded from within by all the impulses which are present in the process of socialization, is finding little support from an environment which is badly divided in terms of economic, political, social,

and cultural ideologies. In a sense, youth is a barometer of what is happening to society in general. In the same way that we often say of youth, "What they will be they are now becoming," we might add that what society becomes, depends on what youth will be. That youth is having a rough time can be attested by the growing concern with the rising delinquency rates. Delinquency began its upward course in 1948. Between 1948 and 1953 the increase was 45 percent. The Children's Bureau estimates that at least 435,000 children were brought to the juvenile courts in 1953 because of delinquent behavior.

Juvenile delinquency is very much in the headlines, and the problem is a challenge to the existing pattern of agency services. Furthermore, there is growing evidence of a high incidence of delinquency in the better economic areas, taking it out of the realm of purely an economic problem. The social group work agency which, in public relations terms, talks of its services as "delinquency prevention" frequently finds itself unable to cope with the delinquent youth. The experience with the teen-age groups has tended to develop a greater awareness of the inadequacy of agency programs for the adolescent in general. Just as the depression discovered the young adult, the Second World War brought into sharp focus the adolescent. During the war there was recognition of the need for new types of programs if this age group was to continue to utilize the services of the social group work agencies. There is still the challenge to understand the relationship of agency structure, policy, program, and climate to the needs of this age group if membership turnover is to be reduced and services made attractive. Help may be forthcoming from the growing literature in the social sciences on social institutional structure and group reference theory. In the more specific area of the delinquent there is growing recognition that the problem is one of multiple causation and that the solution must involve a multiple coordinated approach involving a variety of services and environmental changes. At a recent conference of experts from various fields, sponsored by the Welfare and Health Council of New York City, the following areas for study were identified:

1. A study of personality traits to determine the elements which

predominate in individuals and groups found to be delinquent

2. An examination of group activity in order to understand the negative behavior characterized as delinquent

3. Investigation of societal conditions and movements which affect personality (in this connection it was pointed out that the psychiatrist must get into the community and not depend solely on the clinic and hospital for his data)

4. The necessity for anthropologists and other scientists to team up with psychiatrists in order to obtain a broad appreciation of the effect of culture and subculture rivalry in creating disorder and frustration among the nation's youth

5. Studies to yield a better understanding of the interaction between the individual personality and his environment.

Social group work has a real contribution to make if it sees its services in relation to the whole rather than as a substitute for it.

The Supreme Court decision has provided an important and necessary structure within which the individual with a sense of decency can find support and which the organized community can utilize to further the program of ethnic relations. The program, to be successful, however, must go beyond the legal question of desegregated schools and must take into account the problem as inherent in the individual, the institutions through which he functions, and the mores and traditions of the community. Thus, if the efforts toward desegregation in the school system are not supplemented by similar efforts of all institutions dealing with education for effective living, the results will be fragmented. One of the important forces for helping to achieve the desired goal of desegregation in its broadest sense is the field of social work. Social group work has a special role to play, for it deals with people— not merely with problems of maladjustment but with the positive aspects of socialization and preparation for citizenship in a democracy. If their direction is clear and their values in the forefront, social group work agencies can be a bulwark in adding to the momentum started by the Supreme Court decision. If, however, they are hesitant or apathetic, they will contribute to confusion and escapism. There are many positives in the record of social group work agencies in the area of ethnic relations, but there are

also many negatives. On the negative side in the North as well as the South are segregated facilities, be they by law or by carefully rationalized professional intake policies.

The growing demand for psychiatric help in our society has brought a healthy expansion of social group work services into new settings, such as hospitals, clinics, and institutions, and with it a greater development in the therapeutic aspects of social group work. This represents an important development providing we do not lose our perspective. There is a tendency at times to view this development as the more professional trend in social group work and to set it up in contrast to the broader approach of education for effective living in a democracy. We seem to have a penchant in the field for getting into either/or situations, for discarding the old for a piece of the new, rather than being able to integrate new developments into the whole within a healthy perspective of over-all goals.

We are a nation groping for a more meaningful philosophy of life. Can we go ahead with a greater fulfillment of our democratic way of life economically, politically, and socially, or are we fearful of moving ahead and therefore making of our heritage a shrine to worship only on special occasions? Because we are no longer clear either about what we are for or what we are against, we are failing our youth. On the one hand, we urge them to remember our glorious heritage, to read and memorize the writings of Jefferson, Paine, and Lincoln. We teach them to be proud of what our forefathers did in creating the Bill of Rights and are happy when they can recite aloud that "all men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." On the other hand, we shudder if youth takes these teachings too literally and tries to put them into practice. Is there not a deceit and a dishonesty about the entire matter? Are we not really holding out to youth a tradition which reflects the best of our democratic and humanitarian ethos, but at the same time contributing to and worshiping a climate of social Darwinism with its emphasis not on individuality but rather on survival of the fittest with material success alone as the yardstick of self-esteem? As pointed out by William James, self-esteem equals

success over pretensions. What are we doing to help youth find self-esteem through pretensions which talk of services and helpfulness to mankind, which reflect an inner dignity and philosophy rather than the conditioned reflex of keeping up with the Joneses?

It should be quite evident by now that to attempt to discuss social group work in terms of three separate and distinct factors, such as field, body of knowledge, and point of view is not possible. All three are interrelated and represent just another dimension from which to view the problem. Let us look now at social group work as a body of knowledge, again keeping in mind that this is part of the whole and that we will again find ourselves running over social group work as a field and as a point of view.

Social work, with its emphasis on the growth and development of the individual and the achievement of socially desirable goals, is a product of the last three decades. Prior to this period, leisure-time agencies offered program commodities as an end in themselves without any recognition of the importance of social relations and processes and the values for personality development inherent in group life. Caseworkers by the 1920s had come to recognize the central place of relationship in casework practice and found help from psychiatry in understanding these relationships. Social group work moved along at a slower pace because the human sciences from which it had been drawing its knowledge—sociology and social psychology—had not as yet articulated the importance of group life in understanding social behavior. As social group work began to move into the social work family and became an integral part of it, it leaned heavily on the older sibling, casework, as the channel through which its concepts were transmitted from the human sciences. Unfortunately, the psychoanalytic theory and techniques which were the main stock in trade of the caseworker during this period tended to narrow the vision of the social group worker toward newly emerging developments within the human sciences. Allport describes the era as follows:

There followed the individualistic era, ushered in with McDougall's simple and sovereign doctrine of instincts. The individual was the center of the social universe. This emphasis led to the period of experimentation that dealt with social influence upon the sensory and

higher mental processes of individuals. Behaviorism aided the conception by fragmenting the environment into an infinite number of conditioned stimuli to act as instigators to an infinite number of reflex tracts. In the midst of this period McDougall attempted to escape from the solipsism he himself helped create by postulating a "group mind" in close analogy to the individual mind. The very term "group mind" as used by him, and by many of his predecessors, betrays preoccupation with the individual model. . . . It was not in line with the extreme pluralism of the period; it was not fruitful experimentally; it was stained with European metaphysics. The individualistic era was principally a time when the methods and concepts of experimental psychology were in the ascendancy and when individual mental operations, interpreted with the aid of statistical method, were held to explain adequately all social behavior. Freudianism with its highly individualistic emphasis was easily assimilated into this line of thought.

Two decades ago a reaction set in when both sociologists and anthropologists spoke up vigorously concerning the importance of status, role, caste, and pattern, and of the significance of the *situation*, both immediate and remote, in determining present conduct.[1]

One of the healthy developments of the present scene has been the continuing interest of the human sciences in applying their knowledge to the life situation. Impetus was given to this trend of the past several decades by the demands growing out of the Second World War. Although social scientists dealt with social events and behavior prior to the war, the war provided access to social groups and sufficient funds to study "real" social behavior. Not only social group work but all of social work can be enriched by this new development in the social sciences. It is adding a new operational dimension essential in understanding human behavior and in working with people. Up to this time we have operated primarily within a narrow psychological dimension and a broad social action conception about environment. We knew that such factors as hunger, poor housing, inadequate medical care, unemployment, low wages, and so forth, had an effect on the mental health of people. We did not know, however, the processes through which the individual related himself to the various social institutions within which he functioned. Out of the more dynamically oriented

[1] Gordon W. Allport, "The Genius of Kurt Lewin," *Journal of Social Issues,* Supplement Series No. 1, LV (1948), 16–17.

social sciences there is now emerging basic information on cultural value orientations, cultural values and social roles, age and sex determinants in the social structure, value conflicts. This new dimension can make possible a real understanding of the psycho-social concept and make clearer the role of internal and external factors in dealing with human problems.

Social group work is still closer to these developments than case-work and has both the opportunity and the responsibility to serve as the channel for enriching the body of knowledge of social work as a whole. One of the tests as to whether or not social group work can meet this challenge is the extent to which it can translate into practice the meaning of this new operational dimension. Permit me to formulate some of the questions [2] on which our attention might be focused:

1. Do we have a sufficient understanding of the youth and adult cultures in our society to help youth in the preparation of their future roles?

2. Have we accentuated a conflict for youth by emphasizing the humanistic values in the youth culture without acquainting them sufficiently with the gaps in such values in the adult culture?

3. Can we achieve our goals by emphasizing humanistic values for youth without taking greater responsibility for working with the adult culture to change their attitudes and values?

4. Does our emphasis on a continued experience in one type of group provide sufficient experiential preparation for the various roles one must learn to play and the varied values which one will encounter? In this connection would experience in several groups of various types sharpen one's perception of reality, provide a greater opportunity to find one's strengths and satisfactions, and contribute to one's ability to adjust more readily to a variety of situations?

5. Are our agencies and groups overprotective, with greater concern for conformity than for stimulating creativity and adventure in new ideas? In this connection, do we expose our youth to

[2] In formulating these questions I have found the paper by Marie Jahoda, "Toward a Social Psychology of Mental Health" (written under the auspices of the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University), most helpful.

the value conflicts which exist in the agency between board, staff, community?

6. Do we emphasize loyalty to the group to the extent that youth find it difficult to find identification with more than one group?

7. In our zeal to emphasize process have we lost sight of the value of different types of group experiences at different age levels? In other words, have we gone too far in discouraging the special purpose groups?

There are many more questions which could be raised, but I believe that these are sufficient to indicate the wealth of contribution which can come from the "new look" in the social sciences, especially if we cooperate with them in a two-way process. Many of our formulations in social group work grow out of the character-building era and reflect an interpretation of society that is heavy on the side of cultural lag. Furthermore, with the growing emphasis on adjustment in the therapeutic sense there has been a growing tendency to see process divorced from content and from the social scene. In the minds of some, any type of group situation is as good as another if it provides process for dealing with individual adjustment. We tend to forget that preparation for life in a democracy involves more than a narrow concept of adjustment. It necessitates knowledge of political, economic, and social institutions, attitudes toward them, skill in utilizing them, and skill in changing them if they prove to be inadequate. In brief, in a rapidly changing world we must be courageous in interpreting the changing scene and equally as courageous and radical in testing out new methods and new hypotheses which reflect the stream of change.

What of social group work as a point of view? To some extent we have moved into this area considerably, but I believe it to be of such basic importance as to warrant further discussion even at the expense of some duplication. Social group work does not in its entirety stem from the social sciences. From the human sciences comes basic material which helps us to understand the individual, the group, and the community. The social group worker, however, must not only understand why people "behave as they do" but must "help them to behave better." Thus the social group

worker finds himself involved in the question of social values. The early influence in developing a social philosophy grew out of the religious sponsorship of many of the agencies. These agencies were concerned with making people behave better and in showing them how to lead a better life through the acceptance of religious teachings. Later, character building became another way of stating purpose on a broader base. Then with the influence of social philosophers like John Dewey, more emphasis was placed on learning through doing and on man's need to participate in his own destiny. The group was highlighted as a minature replica of the democratic society and as preparation for citizenship in a democracy. More recently the American Association of Group Workers in defining the function of the group worker stated:

The guiding purpose behind such leadership rests upon the common assumptions of a democratic society; namely, the opportunity for each individual to fulfill his capacities in freedom, to respect and appreciate others and to assume his social responsibility in maintaining and constantly improving our democratic society.

It is quite evident that there is a growing gap between these statements of purpose and present-day practice. More attention is being paid to a narrow concept of adjustment than to goals, objectives, values. There is a tendency to view adjustment as synonymous with a philosophy of life. In the present climate where the gap between democratic values and practice is wider than in any other time in our history, it becomes even more urgent that social group work be viewed within its total conception, namely, as dealing not with problems of adjustment and development in the abstract, but in reference to the type of society for which the individual should be preparing himself.

Within this context not only the climate of the group, but also that of the agency and the larger society has a direct bearing on achieving social group work objectives. In regard to the larger climate, we know that the basic values which underlie not only our program of human welfare but also our structure of human rights are being challenged and threatened. It is not surprising that hand in hand with the attacks on the content of our welfare and educational programs has come the attack of civil rights and

civil liberties. We are still in the era of the investigator, an era which rewards those who would displace government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Guilt by association is still the order of the day.

Because of this confining and threatening social climate there has been a giving of ground on the part of board members and professionals on policies and programs which have been built up over a period of years. Most frightening is the fear of staff to deal with controversial program content. I say "frightening" because of its implications. We know that basic to the functioning of a democracy is the creative and adventurous citizen who has a curiosity about new ideas and about change. The need for adventure was met in our earlier history by the opportunities for pioneering in new territories and with new experiences, both physical and ideological. With the physical frontiers closed, the need for adventure found its chief outlet in the realm of ideas. With a curtain being drawn on adventure in ideas, we are undermining a prerequisite in preparing citizens for democracy.

There is another reason why the avoidance of adventure in ideas and overprotection against radical thinking is frightening. We know that the individual builds his ego-ideal primarily by identification with positive images of the parents and other significant people in his life. If the teacher and the group leader, both of whom play a significant role in the lives of our youth, present a pattern of conformity we will be building a generation who will be easy fodder for fascism.

When we talk of social group work services and practice we tend to limit our consideration to work with youth. Many adults, however, are reached by social group work agencies. In the present-day climate the need for adult education is great, for we are faced with many important issues which cannot be left to vested interests to decide. Among these issues are questions of such moment as peace or war, turning our youth over to the military at an earlier age, and military budgets versus expansion of our health, education, and welfare services. My plea is not to ignore our responsibility for meeting immediate conditions growing out of the present crisis, but rather to help people understand the intent and method of

handling the crisis so that they can participate in formulating its direction. Social group work agencies dealing with education for effective living in a democracy must intensify their program of democratic eduation. If our social work goals are clear, the plans of our nation must be sufficiently all-inclusive not only to defeat any potential enemy from without, but also to protect and strengthen our social structure from within. People must learn that the role of our social institutions such as education, recreation, health and welfare services is not to be merely an adjunct of a military program which in its very nature is negative and destructive, but rather to represent the positive side of our defense of the democratic way of life. The military is only an arm of the nation and must never become its head and heart. In the same way that the military must be unfailing in its courage and devotion to its task, we social workers must be courageous and devoted to our basic task of bettering the health, the economic security, and general well-being of all people, not only in our own country but all over the world.

There is another related problem which should be discussed as we think of the contribution of social group work in the present scene. As social group work has moved from an earlier heavy emphasis on values to a more scientific approach, it faces the danger of becoming enveloped by a "conscienceless scientism." The scientist in the area of research attempts to free himself of value biases. He regards this as a subjective area which should not enter the realm of his scientific discipline. The social group worker in taking over this scientific discipline, however, must never forget that he is dealing with people and their problems not in the context of a research project but rather as a human being helping his fellow man in trouble or to attain a more satisfying life. The moment the relationship reaches the level of objectivity that can best be characterized as depersonalization something basic and important has been lost. It is interesting to note that even in the social science research area some social scientists are questioning the elimination of moral values. They are beginning to recognize that "neither the body of knowledge, nor the activities of its seekers, is morally neutral." It may be helpful to keep in mind that social

work is basically the story of all of us, namely, the story of people, how they fare, and how they might fare better.

It is not enough for social group work to be concerned with professional practice and the professional worker. Hand in hand with this development must be a deep concern for professional responsibilities and for furthering social work goals and objectives. It is not enough for the social group worker to be only skillful in the diagnosis and treatment of the individual and group problems which he meets in his daily practice. The accomplishment of social work goals and objectives calls for a social group worker who can also speak with knowledge and understanding of the wider issues involved and the value principles underlying them, and with authority in possible courses of action and development for society as a whole, that is, on social policy.

There may be those who will claim that much of what is being said is not the concern of social group workers, that social group work is essentially a method and a process and that our task is to improve our professional skills. My answer would be that our method and process do not exist in a vacuum, and any marked changes in the social climate can make a mockery of our methodology and its relation to democratic values.

What is at stake in the present scene is "man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof," man's right to the better life economically, socially, and physically, and man's right to creative and adventurous thinking and the free use thereof. Our task, therefore, is a three-dimensional one. First, we must work shoulder to shoulder with all others in the struggle to maintain and further a democratic climate; secondly, we must constantly evaluate our body of knowledge within a framework of critical scrutiny, never forgetting the democratic goals and ethical premises of social work; thirdly, we must regard knowledge, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end, namely, the better life for all mankind.